

OPEN EYE

Issue One - 1991

Falklands War Plot: The Untold Story

The dramatic account of war preplanning, and the secret battle to save Thatcher from exposure for deceiving Parliament; new details on the 'Belgrano affair'.

Gulf War Launches 'New World Order'

Ex-CIA agent Philip Agee's comprehensive analysis of American foreign policy and its history of worldwide interventions.

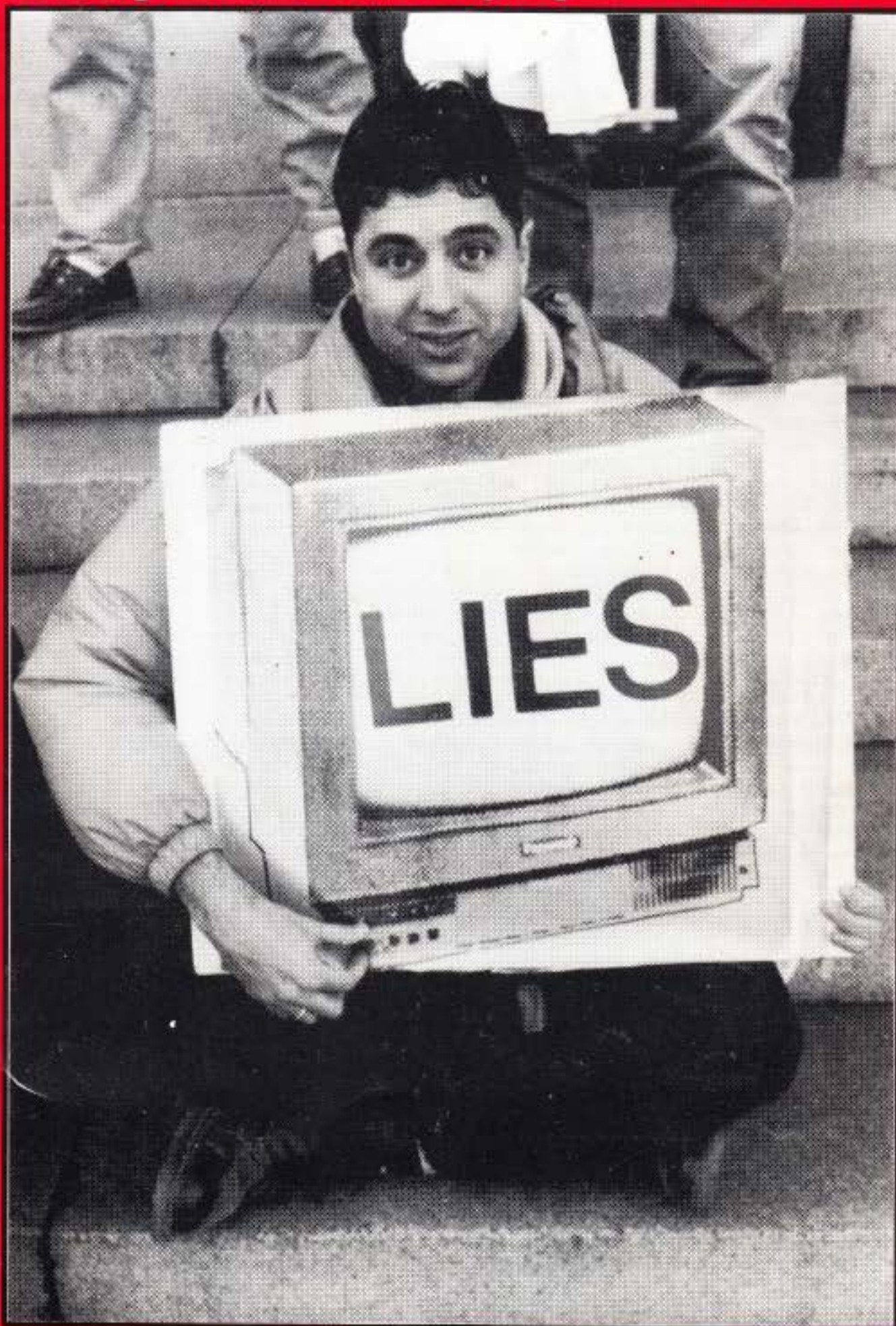
— A new magazine challenging media censorship —

FBI: Political Police

The ruthless campaign against Black Panthers, Native Americans and MOVE.

'Gladio' and NATO's Terrorist Network

The Cancer Business: *Profits or Cures?*



The Greens in Conflict

Splits in Die Grunen, Earth First!... and the British Green Party?

Bush's 'Third World' War

Economic League: *Political Surveillance & Blacklisting.*

ALSO - Gulf War & the Media/Spectacle, "Operation Censored", Permaculture, CIA & the drugs trade, Palestinian poems, Nicaragua, 'underground' magazines.

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EDITORIAL

We want *OPEN EYE* to be a forum for communication between people who are radically questioning our present society.

In this first issue we felt that we must primarily concentrate on the Gulf War and the 'New World Order', rather than more positive developments.

By having a wide focus over the next few issues we hope to avoid a common mistake of narrowing campaigns to specific issues.

Some political stances seem to create more 'enemies' and offer nothing but further conflict and polarisation. A satisfying hatred and self-importance can follow which suffocates any chance of real understanding. These rigid postures often don't last and result in despair and a retreat into conformism.

The only way to avoid this is to take a deep and honest look at all people's motivations and beliefs, including one's own: the personal and the political. The result would be a useful understanding of the inter-relationship between politics and psychology. This is *OPEN EYE*'s goal. We hope this will complement our intention to bring to light censored news and views.

OPEN EYE is the work of a loose group of mainly young people. It has no formal political affiliations and is edited by John Murray and Matthew Kalman.



Please send us your articles, cartoons, letters, exposés, photos, comments and poems etc. (on 3.5" IBM or Mac disks saves us time).

The editors of *OPEN EYE* do not necessarily agree with all the views expressed in this magazine.

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EYE COMMENT

"Panorama" propaganda

A recent 'Panorama' programme was devoted to the C.I.A. - the Central Intelligence Agency. 'Panorama' was given easy access to a number of diehards from the organisation and the programme told us all about failings and betrayals by ultra-paranoid James Angleton, a recent C.I.A. chief of counterintelligence.

We soon began to see that what the programme was describing was a thoroughly naive picture of the C.I.A.'s operations. It left out so much that it may as well have been pure propaganda. Reporter Tom Mangold valiantly quoted William Pitt, "When law ends tyranny begins", yet he himself remained oblivious to the tyrannical activities of the C.I.A. All Mangold had helped to do was to put down the C.I.A.'s 'shortcomings' to the paranoia-induced lawlessness of one ex-employee, James Angleton, while missing out all of the rest of the story. In other words the REAL truth, about real tyranny - the overthrow of numerous governments, millions of deaths, repression, torture, assassinations - all completely ignored.

Panorama could, and should, have interviewed people who want to talk about the global operations of the C.I.A.; ex-agent Richard Brenneke for instance. He claims to have seen Bush arms-dealing in Paris in 1980 in connection with the 'October Surprise' which prevented Carter's re-election; to have personally helped in the C.I.A.'s multi-million dollar funding of P2, the secretive shadow government which almost completely took over in Italy in the 70's and hoped to complete its control during a state of emergency created by terrorism; C.I.A. connections with the assassination of Olaf Palme.

This is just a part of the real tyranny Brenneke described during a series of programmes on Italian T.V. Not surprisingly Brenneke was prosecuted for his allegations about Bush being seen dealing with 'the Iranians' in Paris in 1980; he was acquitted



(From 'Covert Action Information Bulletin')

on all charges. There is apparently not quite the space for such a person on British T.V. nor for other ex-agents like Philip Agee who was forced into exile for 15 years for trying to expose the C.I.A.'s criminal and brutal activities.

The 'Panorama' programme was in fact Mangold's golden opportunity to advertise his new book on... Angleton and the C.I.A.! As he later explained whilst plugging it on the radio; he is not in the business of questioning the C.I.A.'s role which he feels is thoroughly legitimate. What a great deal: Mangold gets access to C.I.A. sources for his book with up to a hundred interview hours each, if I remember correctly, and the C.I.A. get plenty of publicity which doesn't probe any of their ruthless operations and, even better, helps give the impression that Angleton is somehow the root of most of what has gone wrong in the recent history of an otherwise blemishless organisation. In fact Angleton was just a small part of its global operations. Neat. The biggest lies of all can safely continue unquestioned. The 'investigative' media rolls on...

Nicaragua: Post-Election.

After the defeat of the Sandinistas in the spring '90 election the American-backed counter-revolutionary government has started in earnest to undo all the social development and equitable re-distribution of income started by the FSLN.

This matches campaigns in other countries which have suffered C.I.A.-directed counter-revolutions such as Chile. Here are some examples of the reversals in Nicaragua:

EDUCATION-

School books donated by Norway have been replaced by US-approved books because the former had "unacceptable political content" and the sex education was "too explicit". Education spending has been slashed.

ENVIRONMENT-

The Benjamin Thomas Co. of New Jersey has offered to build a toxic waste incineration plant; timber rights have been surrendered to a US consortium.

PRIVATISATION-

Land is being returned to the old Oligarchy, and cash crops such as coffee, sugar, cotton and beef are being grown instead of food for Nicaraguans. Community farms and state-owned industry are being broken up.

ECONOMY-

Real wages have fallen by 100% since the new government came into office. New loan agreements are being signed; one involves swapping debt for ownership in the soon to be privatised state companies!

US AID-

The \$300 million promised in 1990 is being used to set up parallel trade unions to undermine pro-Sandinista unions, to re-build the transmitter of the ultra rightwing radio station, as well as in paying higher oil prices and repaying international debt. Most Nicaraguans have not benefited in any way from this aid.

(Contact Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign for more info.)

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Channel Four's "Banned" series

This was perhaps the obvious place for a programme on the C.I.A. For example, the documentary "On Company Business" by Allan Frankovich, which, unlike many of the repeats Channel 4 decided to show, does literally seem to be banned. The opportunity was missed. At least they repeated "Hoxsey - Quacks Who Cure Cancer?"; another subject we look at in this issue.

Killing Of A Hunt Saboteur.

18 year old hunt-sab Mike Hill was killed whilst trying to stop the hunting of hares in Cheshire.



"At around 3:15 on 9th February Mike Hill and two other saboteurs climbed onto the back of a pick-up truck of the Cheshire Beagles with the intention of preventing

the huntsman, Alan Summersgill, from moving the hounds to another location. The hounds were being carried in a trailer behind the pick-up. Instead of asking the saboteurs to move or calling the police, Summersgill sped off at high speed with the sabs on board. They estimated that he was travelling at speeds of upwards of 80 mph around the country lanes of Cheshire for over 5 miles.

"Holding on for all they could, they pleaded with Summersgill to stop. He wouldn't. He intended beyond doubt to either terrify or injure the saboteurs. They decided to attempt to jump to safety when the vehicle slowed down. When it did, at around 40mph, at a bend, Mike jumped but was hit by the trailer and dragged under. Summersgill still refused to stop, even after they were forced to break a window in the back of the pick-up to plead further. He drove on. The passenger even attacked the remaining saboteurs with his whip before they were forced to pull up at a junction. Even then he didn't hang around. An hour later Mike was dead...

Will justice be done?
Mike Hill is the first animal rights activist to be killed by an animal abuser. He probably won't be the last.

Mike's dead and they're still killing."

(From the Mike Hill memorial fund leaflet)

West & Central Cheshire Coroner, Mr. Hibberts, recently gave a verdict of "Accidental death".

Bush and the waging of a 'Third World' war.

By ROBBIE DINWOODIE

'Glasgow Herald' journalist, Robbie Dinwoodie, reviews a new book by John Stockwell, the highest ranking CIA agent ever to go public. "The Praetorian Guard - The U.S. Role in the New World Order" challenges our views about the secret services of the West, and the goals of our militarised societies. The book covers everything from "Secret Third World Wars" and "Domestic Manipulations" to the "Drug War/Scam", Bush and the Kennedy assassination. Reprinted by courtesy of the 'Glasgow Herald'.

PRESIDENT Bush justified the Gulf war by promising a new world order founded on peace, justice and stability, but even before the Kurds were abandoned to their post-war fate there were those in the United States who found their leader's words hollow, his motives suspect.

Among the sceptics was John Stockwell, one of George Bush's former employees from his days as director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Stockwell was a high-ranking official in the CIA before leaving, disillusioned, to become a whistle-blower.

In his latest book, just published in the United States, he argues that President Bush waged war in the Gulf because of the same imperatives which led him to order the invasion of Panama in December 1989 — as a diversion from domestic political problems, and to placate the fears of the defence industry and the military about the looming peace dividend implied by the ending of the Cold War.

If the arguments in *The Praetorian Guard - The US Role in the New World Order* are accepted, the new order promises to be anything but peaceful, just or stable for the Third World.

The World Bank calculated that the share of global wealth of poor and middle-income nations shrank from 23% to 18% between 1980 and 1988. It is the view of Stockwell and other observers in the US that the role of their country, and to a lesser extent Britain, will be that of hired mercenaries keeping poor countries in their place, waging a Third World War in the sense of a war against the Third World.

"For some it will be shocking, even offensive, that I suggest Bush and others of our leaders systematically lie and lead us into war," concedes Stockwell, but he has amassed a weight of evidence to that effect.

In the spring of 1989 he was predicting in public lectures that the US would invade Panama if Bush failed to oust his former CIA contact Manuel Noriega by other means.

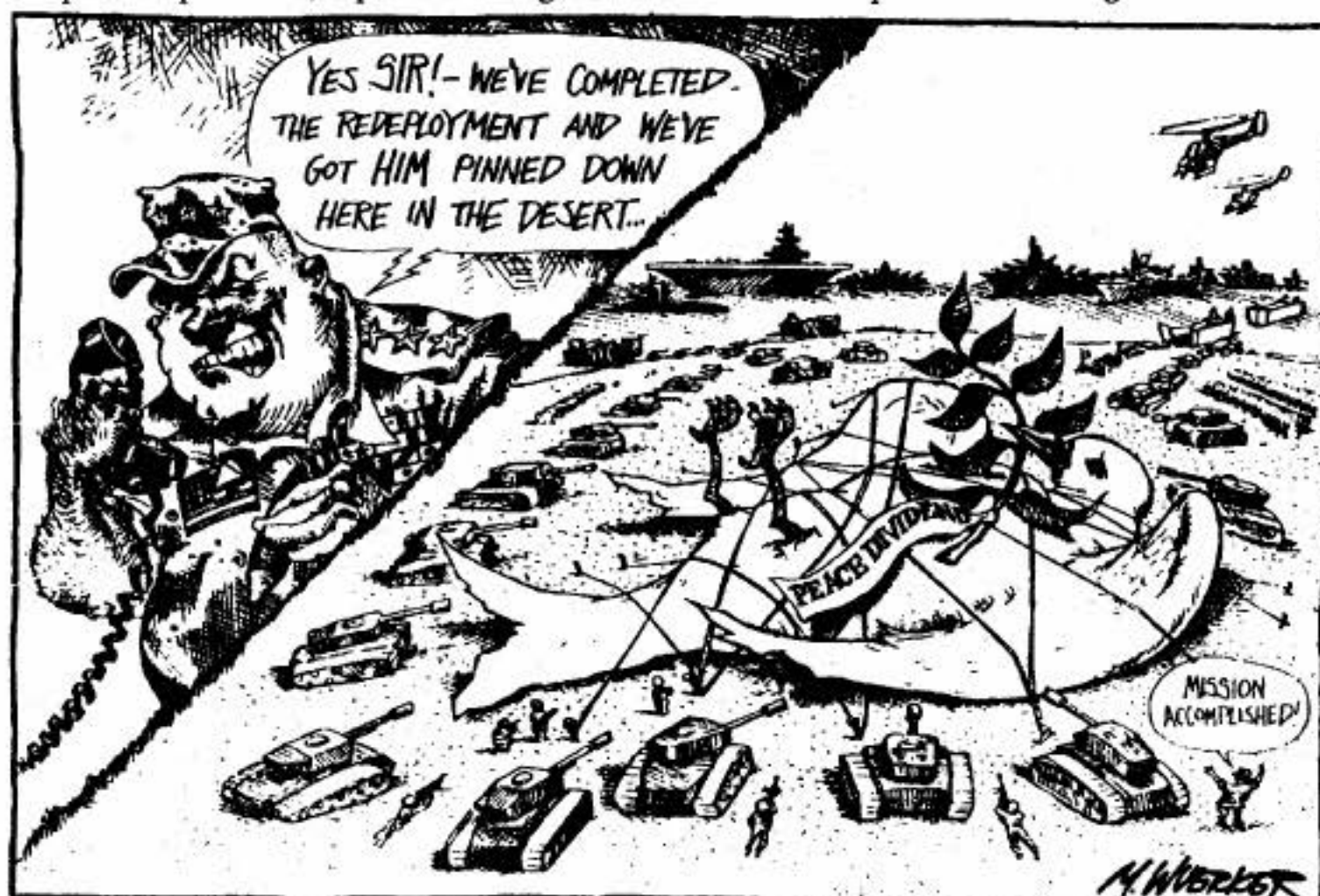
Nine months later Operation Just Cause was launched. The El Chorrillo slum area was strafed and hit by rockets, and has now been bulldozed, leaving 2000 refugees. University and Church sources put civilian deaths at up to 5000. The Pentagon put such "collateral damage" at 202, although mass graves so far discovered already far exceed this figure.

The wealthy, white elite of less than a 10% of the population was put in control under the presidency of Guillermo Endara, on whose successful election campaign the US had invested \$10m in the spring of 1989—the pretext Noriega used to refuse to cede power.

Thus tainted, and increasingly dubbed a vacillating wimp doomed to a single term in office, Just Cause made him look decisive. It removed Noriega as a hostage to fortune, dealt the US a powerful hand to renegotiate the Torrijos-Carter Panama Canal treaty, and served as a reminder to the rest of Central America—reassuring client regimes of American resolve, and warning off opposition groupings.

The Panamanian expedition also saw the first use of the F-117A stealth fighter, a staggering technological overkill which came just as Congress was questioning the worth of the project. As retired Colonel David Hackworth said of Just Cause: "This big operation was a Pentagon attempt to impress Congress just when they were starting to cut back on the military."

However, the Pentagon kept up the pressure, the trade gap widened, the President endured the "watch my lips" humiliation on tax increases, and his son was implicated in the Savings & Loan scandal. On his trek round the US university lecture circuit Stockwell began to predict that soon George Bush would be "shopping around" for a war once more. "I predicted the US invasion of Panama in the spring of 1989



From Z Magazine.

Under US occupation trade unionists have been rounded up, dissent has been crushed.

President Bush came to the White House with skeletons rattling in his cupboards. As CIA director he purged evidence of the illegality of the covert war in Angola which Stockwell headed. He covered up a terrorist bombing in Washington by Chilean agents with CIA links. And he was heavily implicated in the drugs-related Iran arms/Contra aid deal in which a middleman was Noriega, who boasted: "I have Bush by the balls."

based on an estimate of President Bush's need for a military adventure and on the visible orchestration of public opinion against Manuel Noriega. In the winter of 1990, there was a similarly visible orchestration of public opinion against Cuba, held to be the 'last redoubt of Stalinism in the post Cold War World', "he now writes. The Miami Herald reported that wealthy exiles were selling up to return to Cuba, bumper stickers said "Home Before Xmas", Bay of Pigs veterans regrouped, and the TV Marti station began beaming its

(Cont. p 29)

In November 1984 it was revealed by Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine that six volumes of Control Room Logs, covering a six month period including the Falklands Conflict of 1982, were missing from HMS CONQUEROR, the nuclear submarine which sunk the Argentine cruiser, GENERAL BELGRANO, on 2 May 1982 with the loss of 368 lives. It was further stated that a number of signals were also lost and, within a month, it was admitted that an entire file of signals covering the conflict had been mislaid, but presumed "accidentally shredded" at GCHQ in Cheltenham.

This is the true story of the search for that material and the significance it could have had if brought to public view.

THE LOST HISTORY OF THE FALKLANDS WAR

by RICHARD MORLEY

For vast numbers of people the ending of the Gulf War saw a triumph of justice against tyranny, the victory of right against wrong and the prospect of a new world order promising peace and security to a human race free at last from the oppression of conquest by force. It is undeniably a dream which all of us will yearn for and its simplistic proclamation by George Bush has been easily capitalised by a media keen to play its part in an illusion which even the most superficial research will show to be just another stepping stone along a path towards a much more subtle tyranny than Saddam Hussain could ever have envisaged; the totalitarianism of global commercial interests.

This is not only a view of contemporary politics, but also one of late second millennium history in which the interface between the two becomes much less important than academics would have us believe. It is a view that centres squarely upon a notion widely described as the 'conspiratorial school'; for its reality would necessitate the connivance of a relatively small but extremely powerful group of people whose influence is carefully and selectively transferred generation by generation to others, not only with the same interests, but also with a desire to maintain the illusion that their own role is secondary to that of the elected politicians. It is a view that sees the world not governed by the people for the benefit and evolution of humanity, in a system that gradually becomes more democratic and egalitarian, but one in which the power play of commercial interests steadily overtakes the running of society until the complete dictatorship of those with real money has been achieved.

For most individuals this notion is too fantastic to be believed. The conspiracy theory of history has often been attacked on the grounds that it would require the orchestration of too many contrasting elements to be successful. It is hence easily dismissed as being unworkable on a national scale, let alone a global one, and its academic opponents have drawn up a picture of chaos to explain those major events which retrospectively seem to have benefited a particular historical trend towards the hegemony of specific interests. A J P Taylor's 'accident' theory of the origins of World War One was a major contributor towards this convenient avenue. This has successfully drawn mass opinion away from the much more sinister suggestion that the past century has seen the fruition of the machinations of those powerful industrialists who developed a hold over the foreign and domestic policy of all industrialised nations during the 19th century through their financial control over the party apparatus of government. The commercial base of those interests have changed during the last century but the mechanics for real power remain the same, an unelected, largely unrecognised elite who not only effectively dictate the decision of whether to go to war or not, but actually engineer the circumstances which lead to it.

The personal story which I am about to relate should not only serve to augment an understanding of recent history and contemporary politics, for the two are indistinguishable, but also help reveal how that history has been, and still is, distorted through the suppression of information and the selectivity of facts which together serve to produce an image of events so far from the truth as to render them fiction.

Like many other young university historians of my time, I too was drawn into the discussion over which trend of determinism the world was actually subjected to. And, like most of my contemporaries, my conclusions were largely academic with no particular argument winning its case conclusively enough to become established as fact. The problems of global orchestration covering a period spanning at least a century seemed insurmountable unless the conspiracy relied upon the chaotic element in world affairs as part of its overall strategy. That seemed even more fantastic and until 1984, an auspicious year, I was uncertain of exactly where my logic was leading me. In that year, I became personally involved with the fate of a set of documents concerning the Falklands War which not only brought that conflict into crystal clarity, but also established a much clearer picture of exactly how and why the foundations of international history are laid down.

In April 1982 a former Royal Naval colleague of mine, Lieutenant N SETHIA, R.N., was dispatched to the South Atlantic aboard his submarine, HMS CONQUEROR, on which he served as the Captain's Secretary. I had known him since our service together aboard HMS BRIGHTON in 1976, on which he was a Sub Lieutenant under training, and his participation in the forthcoming conflict promised considerable help to my efforts at Cambridge where I was grappling still with the problems of historical determinism. SETHIA had been a good personal friend of mine at a time when both of us shared an abhorrence for the class elitism that dominated the services during our careers. As such, I asked him to keep a diary of events during the conflict which might prove useful in a study of those rigours of modern war imposed upon the crews of the Royal Navy. It promised to be, after all, the first modern naval engagement in the new missile age. Fate was to play a significant part in subsequent events for HMS CONQUEROR was to take part in the notorious sinking of the Argentine cruiser GENERAL BELGRANO and, upon his return, SETHIA triumphantly informed me of his rich booty of documents which might be of interest. He had indeed kept a diary but had in his possession not only that, but also material which, he told me, was of much greater interest. In a fateful telephone conversation from Rosyth in July 1982, SETHIA made it quite clear to me that he had actually stolen the log books from HMS CONQUEROR along with a number of

The Lost History Of

relevant signals which decisively proved British intentions to open hostilities before any peace arrangements could be arrived at. From his account, it appeared that, not only was the sinking of the Belgrano a war crime in so far as transgressed the understood rules of engagement in force at the time, but it strongly underlined the notion that the entire war had been preplanned.

He had already resigned from the service before the conflict and his leaving had been delayed because of it. Hence, upon the return of the ship to Britain that July, he was able to make a quick exit with the stolen material not only from the ship, but from the service as well. A man of some considerable private means from the benefit of a wealthy Indian background, SETHIA was able to make his escape aboard his private yacht to the West Indies where his mother resided in colonial splendour. It is my contention that during the long crossing he used the Control Room logs to augment his rather mediocre personal account and constructed the so called CONQUEROR DIARY which was to receive some publicity two years later when serialised in the OBSERVER.

On his arrival in Barbados, he invited me to visit him and collect the material for which he expected considerable payment. This came as a particular surprise to me as my purse could not run to such extravagances and I had expected the favour on grounds of personal friendship, if not a shared interest in exposing the truth of an affair which he had already revealed to me as being as sordid as political events could be. I could not meet his price and my interests moved deeper into the theatrical world where I was then employed after abandoning the sickening sphere of Cambridge political hackery.

I did make some speeches on the subject however. After all, I had been told by the horse's mouth as early as July 1982 that the BELGRANO had not only been sunk OUTSIDE the exclusion zone, but also whilst in the process of HEADING BACK to port away from the British units pursuing it. More than this, the signal evidence in his possession clearly proved that the order to sink it came AFTER the War Cabinet in Chequers had known of its orders to return to base and at the precise time Foreign Secretary FRANCIS PYM had reached a basis for peaceful agreement under the terms of the Peruvian proposals given to the United Nations. Even more shocking was the evidence that HMS CONQUEROR had returned to the scene of the sinking some hours later with the intention of sinking two destroyers that were picking up survivors of the tragedy. Needless to say, these vessels were offering no threat to the Task Force and, the rules of engagement having been clearly outlined by the British themselves, any action against them was not only immoral but utterly cowardly in so far that they understood their geographical position to be one of exclusion from attack.

The audience at the Cambridge Union were puzzled as my accusations were in direct conflict with the public statements on the subject by Defence Secretary John NOTT and each of us were totally unequivocal in our certainty. More than this, SETHIA had told me that the war had been preplanned to the extent that various units of the Royal Navy had been exercising the precise scenario of the Falklands campaign some two months before it actually began. This account was supported by further correspondence I had been given by Lieutenant D TINKER, R.N., a fellow history student at Birmingham University who was to be killed in action aboard HMS GLAMORGAN on 14 June. He had also informed me of the amazingly coincidental exercises off the Shetland Islands in February 1982 when HMS GLAMORGAN had been called upon to carry out shore

bombardments of a terrain virtually identical to that which it was later engaged in action four months later. This could have been a coincidence had it not been for the fact that those exercises had been drawn together as a change in original plans which was executed at very short notice and that the component units were ALL involved in exact replays off the Falkland Islands only a few weeks later.

These facts were given to a sceptical audience at the Cambridge Union and, when asked for my sources, my claim that the log book from HMS CONQUEROR had been stolen and its secrets revealed to me was met with complete disbelief.

It wasn't until November 1984 that I became involved again. By that time SETHIA had attempted to pass his diary to a publisher through the medium of a fellow CONQUEROR serviceman, Petty Officer S O'KEEFE. Apparently this had met with no success and O'KEEFE, for reasons supposedly of public conscience, delivered the document to TAM DALYELL, the Labour MP for Linlithgow. He was to make much political capital from it before passing it on to author ARTHUR GAVSHON in whose hands it became the basis for his book, THE SINKING OF THE BELGRANO (New English Library, 1984).

What puzzled me, as I saw the information gradually come to light, was that neither DALYELL nor GAVSHON, whilst making much of the details concerning the sinking of the BELGRANO, even alluded to the question of preplanning despite the strong evidence available to indicate it. Certainly the exercises in February were given no publicity at a time when their revelation would have been decisive in exposing the real background to the war. DALYELL made the same speech time and again to various audiences as if unable to break himself free from the phrase that the Falklands Conflict had been the most disastrous British military adventure since La Rochelle in the 18th. century. It was depressing to see the campaign for truth headed by a man so unable to inspire his audience.

Hence, when the security services contacted me within hours of Defence Secretary HESELTINE's announcement that the CONQUEROR's logs were missing, my interest in denying them my full co-operation was simply an effort to see that history would be well served and the truth revealed. A rather zealous young member of my audience at Cambridge had remembered my declaration two years previously that the log books had been stolen and had immediately informed the Ministry of my involvement when the public announcement was made.

The result was a visit by Commander STEVENS, a Naval security man, who suggested that I might serve the British people better by ensuring the immediate return of the missing documents to the proper authorities. His notion that complete burial in a ministerial file was in some way beneficial to the interests of the Nation somehow ran contrary to my own experience of the security services which my Naval career during the previous decade had revealed to be ruthless, inefficient and utterly cold blooded in it's destruction of whoever crosses it. I stood my ground and the inevitable threats were made. If I did not co-operate, certain procedures would be carried out, STEVENS told me. "I would have to face the consequences of my actions", was the phrase used. I knew what this meant. I had crossed swords with them ten years previously and had spent several weeks incarcerated as a Yugoslavian spy on a charge so trumped up that even they couldn't proceed with it. But I knew they meant business and without help I would be swallowed up in much the same way HILDA MURRELL allegedly was when the men in grey suits carried out their fruitless search for the Falklands signals which had disappeared from GCHQ. So I bought time with the promise that I would contact them in two weeks with my



answer. I called upon TONY BENN and a former colleague, Admiral Sir JAMES EBERLE, in an effort to gain advice. EBERLE warned me that the security boys played rough and his advice was to co-operate without hesitation. BENN, cautiously recording every word of our conversation whilst preparing vat like quantities of tea, suggested I should see DALYELL and the press. He proclaimed that only the direct involvement of the media could ensure my personal safety and DALYELL, rapidly brought into service by the grand old sage of the Left, organised interviews with DAVID LEIGH of the Observer and STUART PREBBLE of World in Action. BENN also outlined a plan to deal with the material once it had been recovered from SETHIA for it was obvious that DALYELL had only the diary in his possession because of the serious omissions in his statements which both of us now recognized. BENN told me how his father had been in a similar situation concerning the state of British air defences prior to World War Two when relevant classified information had been given to him rather than the government. His status as a Privy Counsellor had given him immunity from the Official Secrets Act and we both agreed that a similar course of action over these documents would be in the best interests of all.

But the media were less than happy with this idea. PREBBLE wanted a story. If he was to aid my recovery of the documents, I would not be able to determine their fate. An ambitious character who had been reprimanded by the NUJ in 1974 for selling the plagiarised work of his colleagues to other newspapers for personal profit, PREBBLE was known as a man who would stop at nothing to secure a personal scoop. He immediately alienated me by refusing to share the story with the Observer and even attempted to dissuade me from keeping my appointment with LEIGH. Far from being co-operative colleagues keen to see the exposure of the truth, whoever gets the credit for it, LEIGH and PREBBLE typified the cutthroat nature of investigative journalism. Whereas the television journalists worked under the pressure of personal glory seeking, the finer margins of the newspaper industry meant a different type of pressure applying force to those with whom I now chose to work at the Observer. LEIGH was not a free man. He had deadlines, budgets, targets and most importantly, strict editorial control not by the editor alone, but by the owners most of all. Nevertheless he was keen to pursue this one immediately and, had I had my passport in my pocket at the time, we would have departed then and there for SETHIA's lair in the Caribbean. Of course I could reveal neither SETHIA's identity nor his whereabouts to the media. Had I done so, the hounds of the press would have left me standing at Heathrow whilst they pursued the quarry for their own purposes. As such I was forced to play a rather cloak and dagger game with both of them but one which LEIGH at least understood.

However PREBBLE was quick to work things out without me. Through his friend DALYELL he had already acquired a copy of the diary but neither of them knew for certain its author's identity. His team quickly dug into my service background and, with the crew list of the CONQUEROR in hand, were soon to realise SETHIA's identity.

By one of those strange coincidences that always seem to stalk events when a closed circle of people dominate key positions, LEIGH's assistant, PAUL LASHMAR, had been at school with me nearly twenty years before where he had edited the college rag at a time when I was very much under the public eye as a candidate for student president. This was then unknown to me but it had the effect of delaying vital decisions. The fate of the CONQUEROR documents lay between the hands of two men who now jockeyed with each other in a race for information. PREBBLE, seeing that I had in effect chosen to work with the Observer, smeared me in an attempt to dissuade LEIGH from getting into gear. LASHMAR, though not having known me personally at school, was privy to the sort of gossip that surrounds all schoolboys when they strike forward into the realm of publicity. LEIGH was stricken with doubt about my truthfulness and dug more into my background. At school I had been thought of as being particularly reactionary and I had been involved with the security services before whilst in the Navy.

There was a genuine fear that I was merely a MOD stooge, put there to exploit the press into helping the authorities regain possession of the vital documents. This had not been helped by the recording of my conversation with BENN which by now had been passed onto DALYELL and the information from it given to PREBBLE. He was quick to seize upon any sentence that might turn LEIGH against me and he found one in which I mentioned exploiting the services of the press. I had indeed spoken to BENN in terms of using the press to help acquire the documents, but not for the benefit of the MOD. PREBBLE knew this but the correct context was not transferred to LEIGH.

Meanwhile DALYELL telephoned me with a sense of great urgency. His moles in the Ministry had given him notice of an accident which might well befall me if I remained at large, his warning being conveyed with the sort of drama normally associated with the volumes of cheap fiction that seem to surround every situation involving the security services. With

**Benn...
proclaimed
that only
the direct
involvement
of the media
could
ensure my
personal
safety...**

HILDA MURRELL, an active peace campaigner for CND whose nephew, ROBERT GREEN, had held a key position in naval intelligence at a time when further documents had gone missing from his place of work at GCHQ, already dead allegedly at the hands of British secret service agents, it was no time to play games. After all the stakes were high. The passing of the CONQUEROR documents into the wrong hands could well embarrass the government to an extent that could not be easily reversed by conventional electioneering methods. Rear Admiral LANG, head of Naval Security, had been given a brief to recover the documents with sufficient urgency to actually interview me personally on the subject. He understood perhaps more than anyone that, not only was SETHIA the most likely culprit, but I was the most likely

candidate to successfully retrieve them because of our personal friendship. SETHIA had been a renegade officer who was unlikely to respond to any calls for 'loyalty to the service' and still less for a country that he neither lived in nor felt himself a part of. Furthermore, as subsequent events were to prove when SETHIA escaped prosecution despite his extensive thefts of naval material coming to light, LANG was more interested in retrieving the documents into safe keeping than the public prosecution of yet another transgressor of the Official Secrets Act.

Whether LANG was to learn through some channel of my plan to pass the logs to BENN or whether DALYELL, working with PREBBLE rather than LEIGH, simply wanted me out of the way so that his candidate could triumph in a petty race for publicity, the warning was unequivocal. I should leave the country immediately through the most inconspicuous channel. I chose the Harwich service to Amsterdam and found myself sitting there for three days whilst LEIGH struggled in London with the questions PREBBLE had raised about my intentions.

Free at last from the automatic monitoring of international calls, I was able to telephone SETHIA immediately upon arrival in Amsterdam. He was no longer with his mother in Barbados but had secured a property on nearby St. Lucia. The message was passed on and five minutes later he duly returned my call. This had been my first opportunity to contact him since the logs had been announced as missing and he had already heard through the BBC of the storm now brewing. Furthermore he told me that he had already received a call from "our mutual friends" (MOD), laughingly exclaiming that they had told him how "he was not the sort of chap to do such a thing". We both knew that he was. Moreover the Ministry knew he was as well. Their need to settle the matter without publicity was becoming clearer and I told him to sit tight until I would arrive in a few days.

The total farce which now ensued would have been of comic proportions had not such serious issues been at stake. LEIGH came over to Amsterdam and subjected me to an intense interrogation before finally satisfying himself that I had been truthful throughout. He was able to act at last. Three separate parties were now in hot pursuit of the missing papers; PREBBLE, the MOD and ourselves. It had become a race to

T h e L o s t H i s t o r y O f

see who could reach SETHIA first. The only direct flights to Barbados were via Heathrow but we were aware that the security services could intercept me there without difficulty if DALYELL's warning was true. So we were forced to route ourselves via Paris to Martinique from where we hoped local services would complete the journey.

Meanwhile, PREBBLE had flown directly to Barbados, arriving at SETHIA's door only hours before we landed in Martinique. His skilful technique served to convince the former naval officer that I was not only working hand in glove with the MOD, but was also in league with the sensation seeking press who were accompanying me. The whole SETHIA family became alarmed. It was the last thing they wanted and the mother took effective charge of the situation. LEIGH was told that her son had taken refuge in Miami with a girl friend who, when eventually contacted, maintained the ruse by repeatedly claiming over the phone that he had only just left for some cigarettes. This went on for two frustrating days whilst PREBBLE calmly took SETHIA back to Manchester for a rather timid and hackneyed World in Action programme which gave SETHIA every opportunity to refute any allegation that he had taken the material in question. In desperation, LEIGH flew to Miami where he discovered the truth of the subterfuge. The Observer could only print extracts of the diary it had already acquired and the ultimate evidence of preplanning was forever lost.

But PREBBLE was not working alone. On learning of the subterfuge from a despairing LEIGH in Miami, the plot was easily discerned and we realised how PREBBLE had got there first. The overwhelming question in my mind was what would happen to the documents now? Certainly we knew that PREBBLE was working closely with GAVSHON and DALYELL, but the burning fact remained that only half the truth had been revealed by them when they knew there was much more to tell. What would they do now that more comprehensive information on such sensitive issues as submarine operating procedures could be in their hands? The possibility existed that SETHIA had deceived them as well as the MOD on the issue of the missing documents but I knew he wanted money most of all and this was the team to give it to him.

My period of grace from the Ministry had expired and I had to report to them. I simply told STEVENS that PREBBLE had got there first and that now two parties could have the documents in their possession. The PREBBLE/DALYELL/GAVSHON axis also included PAUL ROGERS, of the Peace Studies Institute at the University of Bradford. He was a very active campaigner for CND and the role of the CONQUEROR as a nuclear submarine was of much greater interest to him than perhaps the issue of historical truth. Hence the operating details of a nuclear vessel could now well fall into the wrong hands for the issue of weaponry was certainly one in my opinion where the rigours of classification should be maintained. With LEIGH in Miami and SETHIA with PREBBLE in Manchester, a number of parties now contacted me in Martinique in an effort to discover what was happening.

Amongst them was GAVSHON. I had sent a message to him via my staff in England expressing concern at the motives for PREBBLE's subterfuge. I knew that the logs must have been in SETHIA's possession but I did not wish to see them misused by a man who had failed to reveal the full truth about the February exercises. I did not know whether PREBBLE then had the documents in his possession but I did know that these two were in league together. Nothing that I said about the logs was disputed by GAVSHON. He listened patiently, on an international call that he was paying for, whilst I firmly warned him against publishing details of the operating procedures of nuclear submarines which, whatever the views of his friends was, I did not feel was the purpose of the stolen material. Security chief LANG was also quite calm. He asked me to see him in London and then asked me not for SETHIA's telephone number, but for his mother's! It transpired that they had known each other socially for LANG's daughter had actually

had a relationship with SETHIA's brother! This was becoming too incestuous for words. It was no wonder that SETHIA had been told by the Ministry that he was not the sort of chap to steal the logs - they had in all probability been pissed together behind a bar!

...the ultimate evidence of preplanning was forever lost.

I returned to London with a sense of general disgust over the whole affair.

Shortly after my return, I saw LANG who informed me that he was no longer in charge of the operation. Through me, his name had appeared in the press and for some reason, the security services need to maintain their anonymity to be effective. Chief

Superintendent HARDY of Scotland Yard was his replacement and the police had already interviewed SETHIA in connection with my allegations. Nothing came of it of course, for proof of the theft would be impossible if the papers had in some way gone to ground. But there was a surprise call on SETHIA's home in St Lucia. There, in January 1985, they officially retrieved some Naval stores which SETHIA had stolen from the CONQUEROR two and a half years previously. An over zealous journalist from the Mail on Sunday, CHESTER STERN, was rather quick to draw the conclusion that the missing logs had been retrieved as well. They may have been but the police denied it and SETHIA immediately issued libel proceedings against a number of newspapers.

The following May, PREBBLE visited me without notice. He was keen to know whether I would appear on behalf of the newspapers against SETHIA. On hearing that I would not only help defend the newspapers but also unhesitatingly repeat the allegations that had led to the law suits, he warned me strongly against testifying. "Libel cases can be very nasty things, you know", he said, "If you attack SETHIA's character by claiming he is a liar, then yours will be attacked as well. And it is by no means blemishless. It will be very nasty". This was clear intimidation of a witness but the question was why? PREBBLE had no advantage in protecting my interests for he had done nothing to help me so far. Why should he want me not to testify? The more threats he made against my appearing, the more determined I was to see it through. I deduced from that meeting that PREBBLE had either been given the documents by SETHIA, and was keen to see the trail to him terminated, or he knew that SETHIA had indeed stolen them but felt obliged to protect his source as much as possible. Either way it seemed to provide yet more evidence that SETHIA's action could be successfully defended and in November 1987, the case finally came before Mr. Justice BOREHAM at the Royal Courts of Justice.

The libel hearing was indeed a classic piece of British justice.

It transpired that SETHIA, an ex-Harrovian, had been expelled for stealing cigarettes from a machine at school. His Naval career had been peppered with incidents of wild drunkenness, summary leave curtailments and ambitious practical jokes. He fancied himself as an Eastern potentate and imitated the role to such effect that whole establishments were taken in by his schemes to pander an ego that needed ever more grandiose affairs to satisfy it. He had been arrested for vagrancy whilst drunk in a London park and, in August 1980, officially reprimanded for, "Bringing his ship and the service into disrepute". His diary was so frank that it revealed a passion for young ratings that even resulted in revised will arrangements so that a particular youth would benefit from his death. He described in graphic detail the process by which he removed huge amounts of stores from HMS CONQUEROR prior to his Atlantic voyage.

But the most significant detail of the diary was the manner in which it was written. He claimed in court that the entire document had been contemporaneously put together in the midst of a wartime environment and always in the Wardroom of the vessel.

Fellow officers were called to testify that they witnessed him doing this but none of them were confronted with a copy of the document itself. Hence there was no evidence that the diary which had been serialised in the Observer was in fact the document that he had supposedly put together during the war.

It was as if he had a premonition that the incident would be of immense importance BEFORE it even happened.

This was indeed significant, for if the diary as serialised was not that which he wrote on board, it must have been composed later and at a time when he would not have had such detailed information so readily to hand. Unless, that is, he had other material to hand such as the log books. I urged the defending counsel in vain to cross examine them on this issue for it was obvious to me that, whereas SETHIA's fellow officers would be content to allow him the opportunity to scribble a few notes on the atmosphere of a wartime environment, they would not have been happy with the recording of material which he now claimed was contemporaneously written. It contained not only detailed classified information that would have been difficult enough to put together from one position in the Wardroom, but it was written in a style and in the precise order as the language which would have been used in the official Control Room Log. His own ramblings about beard growing contests and romantic thoughts on a particular boy appeared utterly incongruous in style to the language in which the classified information was recorded.

Those entries leading up to and immediately following the sinking of the BELGRANO received a very different approach from their author. For the first time in a month at sea, SETHIA details the weather - in a submarine! Once the Belgrano is sighted, his personal notations are curtailed in favour of detailed operational information. It was as if he had a premonition that the incident would be of immense importance BEFORE it even happened. Such foresight could be coincidental were it not for the inclusion of such visionary phrases as that entered on 30 April;

"The weather today has been incredibly good - very calm and clear skies, sunny and excellent visibility; perhaps the calm before the storm!!"

Further examination of the diary revealed yet more evidence that it simply could not have been written in the manner SETHIA claimed. On 2 May, the day of the attack, his entry is much longer and considerably detailed. Yet in his evidence, SETHIA clearly stated that this entry was written in the Wardroom some four hours after the sinking; a Wardroom which, by his own description was filled with officers drinking and discussing the momentous events of the afternoon. Was it really possible that an officer could write his longest passage in such an atmosphere and at such a time when he himself must have been keen to discuss those events with his colleagues rather than squeezing himself in their midst into a supposedly isolated corner of the cramped chamber, scribbling with an immaculate hand detailed classified information which it was illegal for him to record? Much of this entry is even written in the past tense! - but not all of it. It contains such incongruities as;

"We HAD a glass of wine in the Wardroom and SPENT the evening discussing what had happened",
.....and,

"I don't think most of them realise it yet - they ARE STILL as I AM, a bit 'high'. However, everyone IS smiling nervously, expanding on the rights and wrongs, recalling the tension and the feelings",
.....and,

"I WENT to bed at 2130".

It should have been obvious to the court that SETHIA was lying. His account of how he wrote the diary was not only a physical impossibility, but it defied even the evidence of his own hand. He claimed that all his entries had been written in the Wardroom and yet many, such as that of 3 May, clearly imply the writer to be in the Control Room; *"I am waiting for the sound room to scream torpedo, torpedo, torpedo, or to say they hold a destroyer at close range".* On occasions the grammar has the literal hall marks of clumsy adaptation from another document as in the entry of 2 May; *"Our task is now an anti-shipping patrol, and by 2100 we are heading back to the west at 12 knots".*

No literary analyst was ever called upon by the defence to give an expert opinion on the issue of contrasting styles of morphology and the frequent changes of tense and mixture of grammatical styles indicate a strong suggestion that the diary

as given over to DALYELL was not the work of one writer. But it was written in one hand. The entire diary was written on the same stationary and with the same pen throughout a period that spanned eight months. It contained no mistakes or alterations and no variations in handwriting despite the state of high tension SETHIA describes himself to be in. The finished product appears the same whether it was written before the war, in the midst of it or during the long voyage across the Atlantic afterwards. And yet SETHIA claimed this was the original, contemporaneously written with an elegance that would put even Mozart's manuscripts to shame.

The total ineptitude of the defence counsel to exploit these obvious incongruities to the jury worried me. It seemed as if the defence had no interest in attempting to prove that SETHIA had in fact stolen the Logs which was, after all, the essence of the case in question. I had been paid to attend the entire three week hearing as an observer but my analysis was never used. I was a material witness in so far as it was my allegation that SETHIA had actually stolen the logs which led to the offending article being printed. But my evidence that SETHIA had actually ADMITTED directly to me his theft of the logs long before the matter became one of national interest was never called for.

Certain diary entries were made available to the jury but not all of them. Who exactly determined the selection remains a mystery but key passages were never brought to light either by the defence or by the judge, who presumably had the entire material within his scope of examination. Hence SETHIA was able to underplay significantly his theft of Naval stores during the last days of his service. At first, in direct reply to his counsel asking exactly what stores he had removed, SETHIA listed some charts, a waterproof bag and a navigational manual but, faced with the incongruity of that testimony with what diary evidence was available, he later extended the list to include tide tables, nautical almanacs, pilot books, torch batteries, a signal flag, some stationary and a screwdriver. But even the diary account that was available indicated a far greater haul. He wrote of such copious supplies already secreted on 28 June that he, *"would need a lorry to get south!"*. The diary indicated a week of squirrel like activity which needed several car loads to remove and yet he stated in evidence that his entire haul was carried out in a single holdall, and on foot.

The relevance of this inaccuracy in SETHIA's evidence surrounds not only his general character and truthfulness, but also the precise circumstances of how material in general was removed from the CONQUEROR at the precise time the logs went missing. Why should he lie about the degree of theft when the act itself was already admitted. Furthermore his theft of large amounts of Naval stationary was never dwelt upon. What did he use it for? As his private correspondence had always been transmitted on personalised stationary, copious supplies of official stationary would have been of little use to him unless it was to be used for the creation of something like a revised diary; and the diary passed to DALYELL was indeed written on official stationary. Of course the original copy of that

document did not survive to be examined in court; SETHIA claimed that he had destroyed it through fear. But neither O'KEEFE nor DALYELL were questioned on the condition of that original which they readily admitted had at one stage been in their hands. The photocopies show no signs of creasing or wear which one might expect from a document composed on dozens of separate pieces of paper over an eight month period. This was yet another example of the ineptitude of the British legal system to get at the truth. As I witnessed the trial these questions were burning in my mind. If only the right questions had been put to SETHIA the jury would have realised what had happened. He even wrote on 3 October 1982;

"I have managed to do a great deal of writing and send the first 20 pages to O'KEEFE..."

...but the relevance of this was simply never put to the jury.

***I am waiting
for the sound
room to scream
"torpedo, torpedo,
torpedo..."***

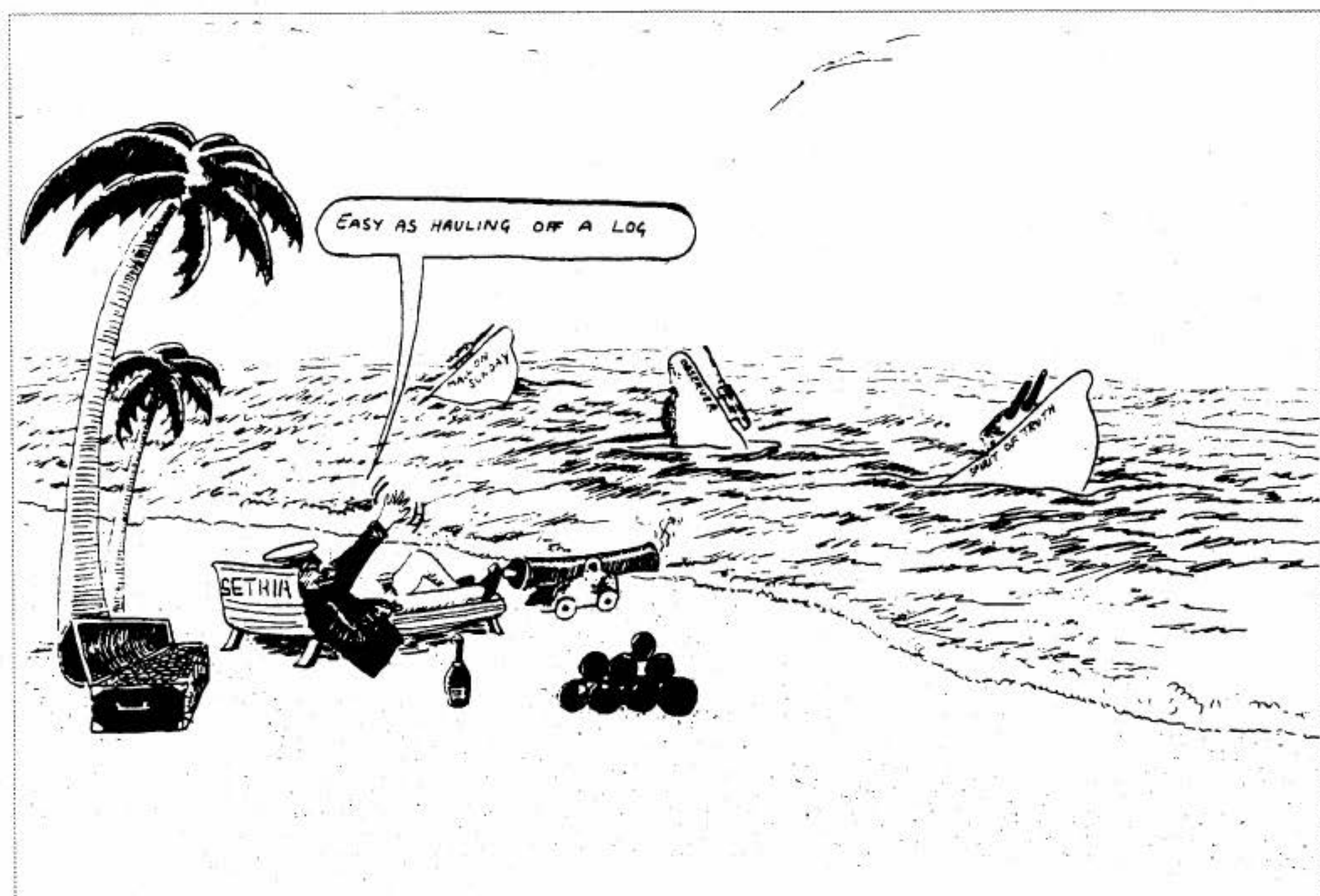
***If only the
right
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The Lost History Of

The Mail on Sunday stood no chance. They hadn't really put up a defence. What evidence there was proving SETHIA's guilt became submerged in a series of complex legal arguments over the admissibility of evidence and the technical definitions of classified material which left the jury completely shell shocked. Time and again they were sent out whilst classified issues were discussed. What they saw was a confusing mass of jargon which, as analysed by MA Justice BOREHAM, could only lead them to one possible conclusion; and one which was never in doubt.

Despite a defence which never actually defended the newspaper, some real evidence had come out in the trial but the

jury were never directed to see it. BOREHAM didn't help as I doubt that he really understood the significance of what had been said or what had been produced as written evidence. The damages of £260,000 was a surprise however. It was the third largest libel award in history and it was given to a man who, even had he been innocent of the allegations made about him, had hardly suffered to the extent that such a payment was necessary. Further actions against the SUN and the OBSERVER newspapers were settled out of court for far smaller amounts but SETHIA had made his money after all and he returned to a business rejuvenated through the fame his actions had achieved.



...the majority are kept in darkness whilst the few that do know do not speak.

It is now April 1991. In the intervening years little has been said or written of the Falklands War. In much the same way as the Gulf War appears to be catalogued today, it has settled in the history books as a valiant reply to naked aggression which was neither provoked nor expected. Despite the efforts of all those who exposed the reality of the sinking of the BELGRANO, much to the chagrin of the government at the time, the same government has gone on to record massive victories in two subsequent elections.

The concept that the war was in some way preplanned is regarded by most as a ludicrous suggestion. The fact that, through its occurrence, the Conservative party was able to reverse its preexisting disastrous standing in the opinion polls and subsequently carry out an extensive social revolution is seen as pure coincidence. The fact that this social revolution effectively saw the end of higher rates of income tax, huge speculation in land and property prices, the end of effective local government, and the resuscitation of nationalistic fervour is seen as being a happy stroke of fate for those well off enough to have benefited. The fact that the war effectively acted as a show case for such British armaments as the HARRIER, the TYPE 42 Frigate and the SEA WOLF missile is seen as a lucky by-product of the conflict rather than its reason.

Were it to have been clearly established in 1984 that the

government actually wanted the war and literally worked towards encouraging it to take place, the subsequent social history of Britain would have been different for such actions could not have been defended at the electoral booths. But such an allegation required proof and the nature of British politics, if not world politics, is that such proof is always protected by those who are part of the establishment - and the establishment includes those in opposition as well as those in government. It includes the Civil Services, the Judiciary, the police, the media, the publishing houses, the record companies, all major industries and companies, the banks, the insurance companies, the Armed Forces, the academics, the advertising agencies, the teachers, the doctors, the City institutions, and all those who have any influence at all over what we think.

But the number of people who hold real power in each of these spheres is very strictly limited. Not only are the newspapers wholly controlled in what they print by their owners, but these men are remarkably few in number. That scenario is not just limited to the media. In all of these professions ambition, fear and greed serve to silence the people who participate within them. More than this, all the minor participants are dependent upon the continued support of their careers to maintain their mortgages, their cars, their children's education, their BUPA payments and the instalments on their fitted kitchens. They are

all prisoners in a system that demands from its employees one sacred service; silence. Thus the majority are kept in darkness whilst the few that do know do not speak. Such is the conspiracy system maintained.

What we know as history has all too often been limited to official versions of events dutifully recorded by career academics whose strength of argument relies totally on the degree and origin of their qualifications. Journalists investigating historical events are viewed with suspicion and often ridicule. Anthony SUMMERS and Tom MANGOLD are excellent examples of dedicated researchers whose efforts to expose the truth of such major events as the assassinations of President Kennedy and the last Tsar have been met with public acclaim but no change in official accounts. And yet their work is often far more probing than the likes of A J P TAYLOR or R J UNSTEAD, who in particular seems to have a monopoly on the primary teaching of history in schools. Thus from an early age, the population is steered into believing an authorised version of events which the media then augments with ruthless propaganda and deliberate omission. The media is, of course, a very large body of disparate people with diverse personal aims. But careerism amongst them is as rife as that dominating the academic and political worlds. It is an arena where the stakes are high and personal egos yet higher.

PREBBLE, for instance, having done his best to convince LEIGH that I was lying about SETHIA's involvement with the log books, did not wholly disbelieve me himself. As SETHIA stated in evidence in 1987, PREBBLE's opening reasons for his visit to him in St. Lucia were that he had come hopefully to recover HMS CONQUEROR's missing log books. Thwarted in this avenue, presumably by their prior destruction when SETHIA got wind of the search for them, PREBBLE cut his losses and persuaded the diarist to take part in a programme in which he could refute any allegations that he had stolen them. The unwitting SETHIA agreed to do this on grounds of personal safety without the knowledge that PREBBLE intended to carry extracts of the illegal diary on the programme. PREBBLE only informed him that diary extracts would be featured after his return to St. Lucia when he could do nothing about it.

Hence the diarist was a victim of intrigue as much as the truth searchers were but the irony of it all was the terrible loss to history that those log books could have provided. In his desperate attempt to prevent the Observer from carrying the scoop, PREBBLE destroyed the only safe avenue for the logs to reach the light of day as neither LEIGH nor myself had any intention of publishing them and our efforts were directed at the completely legal channel of exposure through the House of Commons. Only I could have persuaded SETHIA to agree to this on the grounds of personal friendship, a chance which PREBBLE effectively destroyed through his ambitious folly.

Thus we can see how history is distorted through the fear, ambition and greed of certain individuals who act without any sense that their petty endeavours actually shape the impression of events held by generations in the future.

The microcosm of history that this article examines is not an isolated event. Nor is it centred upon the petty issue of who stole the log books of the CONQUEROR. The concept of a war being preplanned by the so called victim of aggression is an issue of massive importance and complete relevance to the world today.

Nor is the evidence of the Falklands incident as an example of preplanning restricted to the evidence contained in the missing log books. The whole Falklands incident is peppered with evidence which leads one irresistibly to the conclusion that the official version of events and the public's understanding of the war is seriously distorted. The Argentines were engaged in large scale amphibious

exercises at least a year before the invasion. A huge mobilisation of reservists was underway even during the summer of 1981. If there was any doubt as to the direction of Argentine intentions, these must have been dispelled by their orders placed with the Admiralty for detailed charts of the entire Falklands area. So many had been ordered that, at the time of the dispatch of the Task Force, Lt. TINKER tells us that the GLAMORGAN had to be navigated by means of a Times atlas!

If we had actually sent a telegram to the Argentine leadership inviting them to invade, our message could not have been much clearer!

What did Britain do at the time of these ominous events?; it decided to scale down its presence in the Falklands with unprecedented publicity. In the fall of 1981, it was announced that the area patrol ship based in Port Stanley, HMS ENDURANCE, would be withdrawn. We were given lengthy news reports of its supposedly last tour of duty. The military detachment on the islands was being cut down to a fraction of its normal staffing. If we had actually sent a telegram to the Argentine leadership inviting them to invade, our message could not have been much clearer!

And yet behind the scenes we were preparing for the very scenario which later occurred.

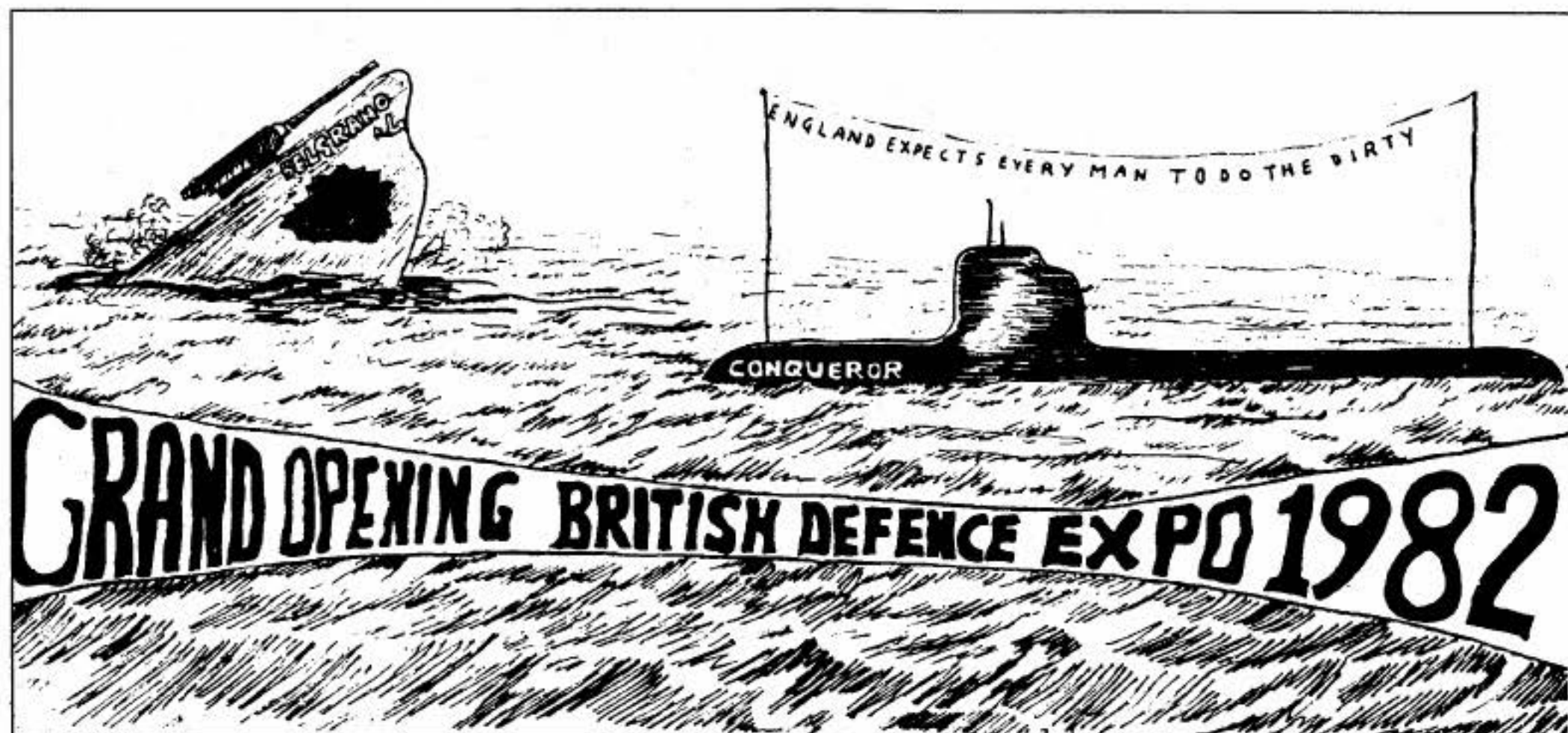
In 1985 I was given the opportunity to address these issues once more at the Cambridge Union where my opponents included Defence Secretary HESELTINE and General Sir FARRAR HOCKLEY, the Commander of NATO forces in Europe at the time of the invasion. Precise and

detailed accusations of government preplanning were directed at them in public. HESELTINE, in a style typical of the establishment elite, simply refused to address the issue. HOCKLEY, however, was less skilled in his handling of me. Of course he had arranged certain exercises in February to prepare for a possible invasion, he declared, but it was his job to be "prepared for all eventualities". This was not the picture given at the time of the invasion to the British public who were led to believe that the event had taken EVERYONE by surprise. For his apparent ineptitude, as the Foreign Secretary at the time of the invasion who failed to foresee it, Lord CARRINGTON was immediately given the post of NATO Secretary General; hardly the fate one might expect of a man who had been forced to resign through a massive blunder! But the sheer enormity of the mobilisation undertaken within hours of the invasion was never understood by the general public. The difficulty in arming an entire fleet with live warheads at such short notice was accepted as being mere efficiency. The fact that most of it had been assembled at Gibraltar where full scale equipment just happened to be available was an actuality never fully revealed to the public. They were simply taken in by the massive public display of pomp surrounding the sailing of the flag ship INVINCIBLE from Portsmouth. Even the invasion itself was to be distorted by history. The initial

...the sheer enormity of the mobilisation undertaken within hours of the invasion was never understood by the general public.

accounts of the Argentine action in Port Stanley gave a credible account of how it was that, despite offering resistance with the resulting deaths of six Argentine servicemen, the British units suffered only one slight casualty who was wounded in the arm by a ricocheting bullet fired by his own side. The Argentines had used blanks, so we were told on television in the early hours of the war. This rather humane side to the Argentine approach was never mentioned again. As a fact it does not appear in any record of events recorded in the history books. The newspapers never carried that account. Like the radio programme I made on the subject for the BBC, and like many incidental facts of the recent Gulf War, the information was buried under the catch-all powers of government censorship. The Argentines, like the Germans before them and the Iraqis today, were to be portrayed as brutal aggressors who would presumably eat babies if given the opportunity to do so!

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War for commercial gain is nothing new to history, indeed it has been the origins of most wars throughout the field of human existence. Before the American Civil War such a notion was hardly in contention. Nobody claimed that the Seven Years War had been fought for anything other than pure colonial expansion in an age when it was thought profitable to do so.

But the huge scale of war in the twentieth century and the greater need to maintain public support because of developing civil rights has resulted in a hypocrisy of reasoning which knows no bounds. The rise of American interests from its merciless annihilation of the Spanish in 1898 to its equally ruthless destruction of Saddam Hussain in 1991 has indeed seen the development of a new world order as George Bush so accurately claims. But it is not a moralistic order in which the forces of fairness or egalitarianism can triumph. It is an order in which, through the growth of multi-national companies and international dependence on American aid, an ever fewer number of individuals exert an ever greater power over ever growing regions of the planet. No military power can match America today. No economic force exists which can thwart the

aims of the companies and institutions which shape its policies. No idea, however logical and beneficial for mankind, can be put into practice in the world unless it meets with the commercial interests of the faceless moguls who shape domestic policy, foreign policy and our lives. The truth is only suppressed when there is a reason to suppress it. The truth about the Falklands war was suppressed because the public must not realise its wars are fought not for any noble aim, but for the simple and squalid reason of maintaining a system of commercial growth and exploitation which will always benefit the few and maintain the servitude of the many. Wars have become show cases for arms manufacturers. It was no coincidence that HARRIER sales soared after the Falklands War; it will be no coincidence that PATRIOT, TOMAHAWK and STEALTH bomber sales will soar after the Gulf War. In the same way, it will be no coincidence that American and British construction industries will benefit hugely from the Gulf War as well. The men who die are doing so as part of a huge advertising campaign for an industry which, not only need not exist, but which, by its very nature, will slowly erode the resources of the planet until the desert scores a final victory over us all.

To my friends David TINKER and David BRIGGS, who gave their lives for the Falklanders; your story has now been told.

RICHARD MORLEY read History and Politics at Birmingham University and Pembroke College, Cambridge and served as a Lieutenant with the Royal Navy 1971-77. He has been the author of several plays including a stage adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited*. He is currently leader of an artistic commune known as **BIGWOOD** based in a remote castle in France.

The Politics of Drugs

"In your book 'THE POLITICS OF HEROIN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA' you state that the United States was poised at the end of World War II to terminate the problem of drug addiction in this country and could have done so. Because of forces I'd like you to discuss, it wasn't able to.

Alfred McCoy: "America's failure to reduce, if not eliminate, drugs was the result of a contradiction between the needs of domestic policy and demands of the national security state. After World War II, the United States became a global power and set up a number of agencies to exercise this power, most importantly the executive agency known as the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. Formed in 1948, the C.I.A. was willing to ally with anybody and everybody that could provide strength and support in this global struggle against communism. In Europe and in Asia the C.I.A. allied themselves with major drug brokers and other crime syndicates. In sum, what they did was to sanction the start of a flow of narcotics from the Middle East through Europe to the United States which dominated

America's drug markets until the 1960s. At the same time that the C.I.A. was forging alliances and protecting the traffickers in Europe, they also formed similar alliances in Asia which were actually deeper and had a much more profound and lasting impact on the Asian drug trade. As the European trade began to diminish in the 1960s or 1970s, this secondary flow of Asian drugs came into the United States and supplemented the old Turkey-Marseilles heroin connection. Ultimately, when you look at the source of supply and the politics that provided drugs to America in the post-war era, you come down to this contradiction between a vague commitment to "do something about drugs" versus a very high-profile effort to contain communism. In this balance between an inarticulated, poorly formed, weak narcotics policy and a very clear national goal of containing communism, the narcotics policy was barely considered. So the fact that the C.I.A. was dealing with governments, intelligence chiefs, war lords, gangsters, traffickers of all sorts, was not considered a matter of any moment...."

—— Z Magazine(January 1991) - 'The Politics Of Drugs :
An Interview With Alfred McCoy' by David Barsamian. ———

"There was a massive flow of drugs through the CIA/contra aircraft into the United States, where they had clearances to land at Air Force and National Guard bases without being inspected by customs. Senator Kerry's investigation revealed this and there are dozens of cases where people in the contra program, including Adolfo Calero's brother-in-law, were caught smuggling cocaine into this country, using informal "national security" passes or telephone numbers from the White House to get themselves cleared when F.B.I. or Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officers caught them. This is nothing new. DEA

records have been made public revealing that the CIA intervened on behalf of drug dealers at least two dozen times during the 1970s."

(John Stockwell, ex-CIA agent)

The recently published *Cocaine Politics: Drugs, Armies and The CIA in Central America* (Uni. of Cal. Press), by Peter Dale Scott and Jonathan Marshall, should be good reading on this subject.

The Medical Myths

"By the year 2020... one quarter of the population will be diabetic... diabetes and schizophrenia... and blindness will be as common as indigestion and hayfever today."

Predictions like this would come as a shock to Aneurin Bevan and the other politicians who set up the National Health Service; they strongly believed that more medical care would lead to much improved health and that the financial cost of the N.H.S. would fall.

This is anything but what has actually happened.

In Thatcher's first ten years the cost rose to £20,000 million annually. But are people getting the health improvements such an amount would suggest? In the U.S., a country with the greatest amount of modern pharmaceutical healthcare, life expectancy has been relegated to about 25th in the world table (37th for men!).

The bete noire of the medical industry, Hans Ruesch, suggests that doctors ought to go on strike! Maybe he isn't as wayward as he sounds? In 1973 a 29-day Doctor's strike in Israel 'coincided' with the lowest ever death rate, and funerals dropped by 50% according to the Jerusalem Burial Society. In 1976 a 52-day Doctor's strike occurred in Columbia; Bogota's death rate went down by 35%. In Britain and California this same phenomenon has occurred.

When, in 1980, the World Health Organisation analysed the 200,000+ drugs which have been available to the Third World, they decided that only 240 would be essential and sufficient. Further research established that a mere 26 were "indispensable", 9 being of special priority.

Before you recoil in amazement at what is being implied, read 'The Cancer Business'; the first part of our look into the state of our (ill) health.

In the next issue the cycle of animal testing and pharmaceuticals production will come under the spotlight. The British diet and the food industry is another area of importance we will examine and we will try to put forward some alternatives to the food and medicine currently on offer.

As you read the article on cancer bear in mind the June 1990 press release which gave some of the Labour Party's advice on solving our national health crisis:

"We will... identify under-prescribers... for peer review of their practice."

"In 1972, in Chile, a medical commission nominated by President Salvador Allende, himself a medical doctor, decided to reduce imports of international pharmaceutical drugs to a few dozen considered to be of any therapeutic value. RESULT: Most of the minority of Chilean doctors of the Allende regime supporting this programme were murdered within a week of the takeover by the Junta (with C.I.A. support), on 11th September 1973."

"On the morning of June 2nd 1972 four cars drew up outside the clinic of Dr. John A. Richardson. Nine officials and policemen, with guns drawn, burst through the clinic's doors, thrust Dr. Richardson against the wall and searched him for a concealed weapon. After searching the clinic as well, they led him away in handcuffs past a specially invited T.V. crew."

Dr. Richardson had been successfully using a drug, Laetrile (vitamin B17), to treat people for cancer. Laetrile is about as toxic as coffee.

The Cancer Business

As the proportion of deaths due to cancer-related causes climbs higher every year, so too does the expenditure given over to its treatment and the seemingly endless search for cures. At least one in five of you will die from the disease; but in all probability a third of the population alive today will eventually succumb to it as the ratio of cancer fatalities steadily increases. As much as \$100 billion a year is spent in America each year on cancer research and treatment.

It's a big business; so big in fact that, like any other multinational concern, it is not above the level of pulling dirty tricks to maintain its profits and its customers!

Of course the general public will donate their funds to it, through national insurance, charities or private medical insurance, with the firm belief that they have done everything possible to help the fight against the disease. Perhaps they have every right to believe the medical world to be using that money in a valid effort to seek the elusive answer to a condition that is genuinely difficult to combat. Though all the money we spend seems actually to be making very little difference at all. Improvements in early detection of cancer mean that more years simply pass between diagnosis and death. Hence the five year survival statistics show more 'cures', but the usual treatments, surgery, chemotherapy and radiotherapy, don't seem to be making any effective impact on eventual overall deaths.

This crisis has led Congress to a new willingness to confront the issue more open-mindedly. An official report, which it requested, into "Unconventional Cancer Treatments" was published last year. It mentions the lack of substantial progress in successfully treating the most common and life-threatening cancers, declaring that: "...the gains in survival for most solid tumours (lung and colon cancer, in particular) are small or nil." Apparently the U.S. government began its official "War on Cancer" in 1972 and examinations of its success have only recently been made. Results show "a lack of significant progress in treating most cancers." The report in fact states that the National Cancer Institute (N.C.I.) has been criticised for misleading the public about what the results have actually been: the N.C.I. reported gains in survival for 12 different types of cancer since 1950, yet when Congress' own General Accounting Office looked, it found either "no gain at all" or more modest ones for each type. The report also states that even 'respectable' researchers have criticised "The widespread use of chemotherapy among

classes of patients unlikely to benefit, or for which benefits have not yet been demonstrated". The report itself caused much controversy; its first two drafts left out a report which had been commissioned into the history of three main unorthodox treatments, which had turned out to be favourable to them. Only after a march on Congress and other types of political and media pressure along with the author's own complaints that she had been lied to and suppressed did the third draft reflect a more sympathetic view of these unorthodox treatments.

In 1975 Professor H.B. Jones, the leading expert on cancer statistics for over 30 years, told the American Cancer Society that: "it is utter nonsense to claim that catching cancer symptoms early enough will increase the patient's chances of survival. Not one scientist or study has proven that in any way. My studies have proved conclusively that **untreated cancer victims live up to four times longer than treated individuals**. If one has cancer and opts to do nothing at all he will live longer and feel better than if he undergoes radiation, chemotherapy or surgery, other than when used in an immediate life-threatening situation."

If the three pillars of orthodox cures are of questionable success, their side-effects of weakness and reduced natural resistance are of questionable necessity to the patient. Professor Jones explains: "You see, it is not the cancer that kills the victim, it's the breakdown of the defence mechanisms that eventually brings death. With every cancer patient that keeps in excellent physical shape and boosts his health to build up his natural resistance, there's a high chance that the body will find its own defence

against the cancer. He may have many years left in good health. He shouldn't squander them by being made into a hopeless invalid through radical medical intervention which has zero chance of extending his life".

The inadequate orthodox treatments continue however. A surprisingly candid scientist at the National Cancer Institute explains some reasons for this: "Look, when you've got 10,000 radiologists and millions of dollars worth of radiation equipment, you give radiation treatments. Even if study after study shows a lot of it does more harm than good. What else are they going to do? Like surgeons: they've been trained to cut so they cut." According to Morris Bealle in "The Drug Story": "...the price of radium increased by 1,000 per cent when some enterprising medical men started a fad in using it on cancer victims".

There is another aspect of the story still to come

The atrocities now being committed in the name of orthodox medicine, the suppression of life-giving scientific data, the needless loss of lives, mutilation of bodies and excessive suffering... will not be tolerated... ultimately these criminals and their political lackeys will be brought to trial.

though. In the United States, in particular, a great many other approaches have been looked at. They have often shown promising and even excellent results against cancer. These alternatives are often based around plant extracts; improving the diet; vitamin C; certain enzymes and strengthening the body's own defences, the immune system (the orthodox approach drastically damages the immune system). Here the trouble begins because these far safer alternative treatments are quickly put on the U.S. 'unproven methods' list by the medical authorities. Of the 60-70 'unproven' methods, 29 were given no testing at all by these authorities. Often the few tests that have been done seem to be flawed or else positive results were not finally published. Ralph Moss, senior Director of the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Centre, a cornerstone of the cancer orthodoxy, was sacked for blowing the whistle on a cover-up of the test results of some of the alternative cures. *"Basically the results were coming out positive", wrote Moss, "and we in public affairs were told to say the results were negative and this went on for three years."*

With hydrazine sulphate, one of the 'alternatives', an arrangement was agreed upon to test it but then the agreed dose was drastically increased and the authorities announced that there had been no positive results and that it was toxic. With Laetrile positive results were more straight forwardly suppressed.

Dean Burk, a former head of cell chemistry at the National Cancer Institute, put his finger on the reason for this cover-up: *"Once any of the [medical] hierarchy so much as concede that Laetrile anti-tumour efficacy was observed in National Cancer Institute experimentation, a permanent crack in the bureaucratic armour has taken place that can widen indefinitely by further appropriate experimentation."*

The Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Centre, from which Moss was sacked, has close ties with pharmaceutical companies. Bristol Myers Squibb is a particularly close friend; it has a 40-50% share in the U.S. chemotherapy market. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, which oversees cancer treatments, has made life very difficult for 'alternatives'. Perhaps we can see why?

Dr. Herbert Ley, a former commissioner in the F.D.A.

NOTE:

The Bristol Cancer Help Centre, which pioneers alternative therapies in Britain, recently suffered a major setback from a report which was said to show that their patients would die after a far shorter time than a control group treated conventionally. The Centre was put into financial difficulties by the widespread negative publicity.

However, the authors of the damaging report have since retracted these conclusions admitting that the control group initially had less developed cancers than the people at Bristol had. No valid comparison or legitimate conclusions could be made; the study failed to compare like with like. The Bristol centre considered legal action against the Institute of Cancer Research but this was beyond their means...

Sources:

"The Cancer Business" (pamphlet) by Patrick Rattigan.

"The Cancer Sanction", The Guardian, Sept. 29, 1990.

"The Cancer Syndrome" (J.M. Dent) by Ralph Moss. "A damning and unanswerable indictment of the American cancer syndicate with fully relevant implications for the British version."

See also:

"Naked Empress, or the Great Medical Fraud" Hans Ruesch [essential].

"The Quest for the Under-Prescriber: Labour and the NHS Fiasco" (pamphlet) by Patrick Rattigan.

complained that he was under "constant, tremendous, sometimes unmerciful pressure from the drug industry. Some days I spent as many as six hours fending off representatives of the drug industry".

The Food and Drug Administration also have a cosy relationship with the companies they are supposed to regulate. In 1969 a U.S. Congressional report showed that 37 of 49 top officials of the F.D.A. went into top posts in the companies they regulated.

Can we win the Cancer War?

Moss writes that: *"The entire cancer war is geared up towards finding profitable, patentable entities for treating cancer that can be sold and marketed in a mass way. The resultant mindset is that only therapies which fit into that mold are exciting and interesting. Other treatments just seem worthless."* This helps to explain how, with billions of dollars floating

around, Dr. Linus Pauling, the only person to win two Nobel prizes outright, was reduced to advertising in the Wall St. Journal for funds. *"Our research shows that the incidence and severity of cancer depends on diet. We urgently want to refine that research, so that it may help to decrease suffering from human cancer.... The U.S. government has absolutely and continually refused to support Dr. Linus Pauling and his colleagues here in this work in the last four years."*

Ralph Moss draws the only conclusion possible: *"As long as we make profitability the bottom line in the development of new avenues of cancer treatment we are fighting with one hand tied behind our back."*

This situation isn't limited to cancer it applies to much of the rest of our N.H.S. too. As long as the national debate is fixed on under-funding, this distracts from the real question: the validity of pouring billions into the pharmaceutically-based medicine industry.

Dr. Bruce Halstead speaks for many who are understandably angry with the present situation: *"There will be a medical edition of the Nuremberg trials. The atrocities now being committed in the name of orthodox medicine, the suppression of life-giving scientific data, the needless loss of lives, mutilation of bodies and excessive suffering... will not be tolerated... ultimately these criminals and their political lackeys will be brought to trial."*



The entire cancer war is geared up towards finding profitable, patentable entities for treating cancer that can be sold and marketed in a mass way.

For further info:

CEFMR,
The Campaign to End
Fraudulent Medical
Research, P.O. Box 302,
London, N8 9HD Tel.
081 340 9813



-America's Censored News-

In recent years a number of stories have appeared in the U.S. press about George Bush: his links to the "October Surprise Working Group" which sabotaged Carter's attempt at a second term through a deal to supply arms to Iran if they would delay the U.S. hostages' release until after the election; his relationship, whilst head of the C.I.A., with C.I.A.-agent and drug-runner Manuel Noriega*; his role in delaying the Watergate investigation and his campaign's connection with a network of anti-Semites with Nazi and fascist affiliations in 1988 are a few of them.

Another report explained how the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), an advisory body to Congress, rated acid rain much more dangerous in 1988 than it was in 1984 when the OTA estimated the annual American death toll due to acid rain at 50,000 to 200,000. The original story was called: "Acid Rain is Killing Five to 20 Times as Many Americans as AIDS."

These stories, like many others, were not followed up by the U.S. media; they sunk without a trace. "Project Censored" aims to stop the media from ignoring important stories which are vital to the public interest.

PROJECT CENSORED

Its national panel of American media experts last year named the 'Global Media Lords Threat to Freedom of Information' as the top censored story in the U.S. Professor Carl Jensen who began Project Censored in 1976 says: "the impact of global media lords on the free flow of information is seen in the number of critical issues which are uncovered or 'censored' by the mass media each year. The media's penchant for self-censorship and desire to avoid sensitive issues coupled with the Bush administration which is even more secretive than the Reagan era, deprives the public of information about issues it should know about."

Hundreds of 'censored' stories are nominated each year. This number is whittled down to produce "the 10 Best Censored Stories" along with a further 15 under-reported stories. The panel who choose the most important ones includes respected figures like Noam Chomsky and Frances Moore Lappe, co-author of "World Hunger: 12 Myths". Even though many of these stories come from the American media they are excellent pointers towards parallel censorship in the UK. Little known magazines like 'Lobster', the news-sheet 'Counter Information', 'Black Flag', as well as better-known magazines like 'Private Eye' try to expose such stories in Britain.



"IS THIS HISTORY, DAD?"

"Ils écrivent dans nos têtes, nous écrivons sur leurs murs."
(*'They write in our minds, we write on their walls.'*)

Graffiti, Strasbourg town centre.

another, on many important news stories is lifted, democracy and any informed public opinion is a joke.

On a more humorous note it also nominated Zsa Zsa Gabor's trivial activities as the top "junk news story".

London-based magazine 'Index on Censorship' says that it would be a great idea to begin a similar project somewhere in Britain. Hopefully it is only a matter of time before people with access to the necessary resources can start our own one up; we certainly need it.

NOTE: Bush's links to the sabotage of Carter's re-election campaign are getting coverage in the mainstream media as we go to press.

1. Global Media Lords Threaten Freedom of Information.
2. Turning Africa Into the World's Garbage Can.
3. The Holocaust in Mozambique.
4. America's Decadent War on Drugs.
5. Guatemalan Blood on U.S. Hands.
6. Radioactive Waste in the Neighborhood Landfill.
7. Oliver North & Co. Banned from Costa Rica.
8. Wall Street Journal Censors Story of CBS Bias.
9. PCBs and Toxic Waste in Your Gasoline.
10. The Chicken Industry and the National Salmonella Epidemic.

(1989)

For further information write to:

Carl Jensen, Director, Project Censored, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, California 94928 U.S.A.

*The Noriega Trial

Manuel Noriega's trial is about to begin. But, in truth, it is equally as much U.S. justice that is on trial; for if Noriega is permitted to give his defence his lawyer has promised that the role of Bush and the CIA in drug-running and money-laundering with their long-time accomplice, Noriega, will be fully exposed.

See 'The Politics of Drugs' on page 12 for an overview.

GULF WAR LAUNCHES "NEW WORLD ORDER"

By Philip Agee

Written before the end of the conflict ex-CIA agent Agee's insights into American foreign policy are an explanation of past wars and a warning that unless there is radical change the Gulf War is but a glimpse of a violent future.

Over the months since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, far too little has been said on how convenient the crisis has been to those who would continue the U.S. war economy of the past forty years. Far too little said on how the Bush Administration encouraged the Iraqi move against Kuwait. Far too little on the historical parallels between this crisis in 1990-91 and the crisis that started the U. S. military economy in 1950. And far too little on how this crisis could serve to continue for the foreseeable future the North-South dimension of the Cold War, in place of the East-West dimension that has now practically disappeared.

This longer view, mentioned in passing if at all in the mainstream media, is, I think, the way to understand the reasons and consequences of this war.

Not long after the Kuwaiti invasion, I watched on Spanish television Bush's call to arms, when he said "our way of life" is at stake. For days afterwards I kept watching and reading for news of the millions of people in the U.S. who would take to the streets in joy, in celebration that their days of poverty, homelessness, illiteracy and uncared-for illnesses might soon end. What I saw instead, like most of you, was the Bush "way of life" - fishing, boating and golfing on the coast of Maine like any respectable member of the eastern elite.

To defend that way of life, Bush, as the world watched, rushed troops to defend Saudi Arabia from an Iraqi attack that was never threatened, he pushed a series of 12 resolutions against Iraq through the U.N. Security Council, and he forged a 27-nation coalition, using bribes and other carrots, as well as sticks, to enforce a total blockade of Iraqi commerce.

At the beginning I wondered how U.S. military personnel sent to Saudi Arabia felt, so close to giving their lives to protect a feudal kingdom where women are executed for adultery, where a thief is punished by having his hand amputated, where women can't even drive cars, or swim in the same pool as men. Where bibles are forbidden and no religion save Islam is allowed. Where losing one's Islamic faith, or apostasy, is a capital crime. Where Amnesty International reports that torture is routine, and in 1989, 111 people were executed, 16 of them political prisoners, all but one by public beheading. And not by clean cut, as with a guillotine, but with a sword that witnesses say sometimes requires two

or three chops.

Not that Saudi Arabia, or Kuwait before the invasion, are any different in terms of political repression than any number of U.S.-supported allies - including Iraq until August 2nd, 1990. But to give your life for those corrupt, cruel, family dictatorships?

After August 2nd we heard a variety of reasons from Bush and his men about why hundreds of thousands of lives may have to be sacrificed. After saving "our way of life" came "stopping naked aggression." Eventually it was to safeguard U.S. access to that key source of pollution, Mid-East petroleum, which has never been threatened. When none of those seemed sufficiently convincing, suddenly "jobs" were at stake, a clear response to polls that had just revealed job security as a widespread fear, since the country was moving into a recession already in progress before the Iraqi invasion.

All along I was waiting for some variation on the "restoration of democracy" theme, so consistently used by Reagan and Bush, and previous administrations, to justify interventions in the past. But this time even Bush had to admit, months after the U.S. military build-up began, that restoring democracy is not the issue, although he avoided admitting that restoring despotism is.

Reverting to an earlier theme, Bush returned to the political and moral principle of "stopping naked aggression." Sounds nice, like the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, but anyone with the slightest familiarity with U.S. history knows that naked aggression is what made this country what it is. Ask any Native American, or African American, any Mexican, any Filipino, any Cuban who has lived through 30 years of economic blockade, any Nicaraguan whose relatives were among the 35,000 killed by the Reagan-Bush contra terrorists, any Panamanian whose home was destroyed or whose relatives were killed in Bush's "Just Cause."

The truth is that the Bush Administration's real goal is control of, not just access to, Middle East petroleum. This goal requires restoring a family-run dictatorship in Kuwait and protection for the foreseeable future of the Saudis and other family dictatorships of the Persian Gulf, especially protection from internal political forces demanding some form of democracy.

This goal required Bush's decision last summer

GULF WAR LAUNCHES

to enforce Near Eastern boundaries imposed on Arab peoples by British imperialism after World War I and the collapse of the Turkish Ottoman Empire.

History tells us where this crisis comes from. The man on the scene who drew the lines in the sand was Sir Percy Cox, the British High Commissioner in Baghdad whose authority rested on British military power. In 1922 Sir Percy arbitrarily set the first national borders between Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. And in each of these new states the British helped set up and consolidate ruling monarchies through which British banks, commercial firms and petroleum companies could obtain monopolies.

Kuwait, however, had for centuries belonged to the Basra province of the Ottoman Empire — the southern region of Iraq — and Iraq never formally recognized Sir Percy's borders. He had drawn those lines in order deliberately to deprive Iraq of a viable seaport on the Persian Gulf. The British wanted no threat from Baghdad — at that time the leading commercial and cultural center of the region — to British dominance of the Gulf where they had converted no less than ten sheikdoms, including Kuwait, into colonies. The old divide and rule principle, now being enforced by the Bush Administration.

In 1958 the British-installed monarchy in Iraq was overthrown in a military coup. Three years later, in 1961, Britain granted independence to Kuwait, and the Iraqi military government massed troops on the Kuwaiti border threatening to take the territory back by force. Immediately the British dispatched troops, and Iraq backed down, still refusing to recognize the border. Similar Iraqi threats occurred in 1973 and 1976, while all along Kuwait refused to lease to Iraq two uninhabited coastal islands, Bubiyan and Warbah, that would give Iraq a proper seaport.

This history, Saddam Hussein's justification for annexing Kuwait, is in the books for anyone to see. But weeks went by as I waited and wondered why the International Herald Tribune, which publishes major articles from the Washington Post, New York Times and wire services, failed to carry the background. Finally, a month after the invasion,

the Herald Tribune carried a Washington Post article on the historical context written by Glenn Frankel. I've yet to find this history in Time or Newsweek. Time, in fact, went so far as to say that Iraq's claims to Kuwait were "without any historical basis." Hardly surprising, since giving exposure to the Iraqi side might weaken the campaign to Hitlerize Saddam Hussein. Also absent from current accounts is the C.I.A.'s role in the early 1970's to foment and support armed Kurdish rebellion in Iraq. The Agency, in league with the Shah of Iran, provided \$16 million in arms and other supplies to

the Kurds, leading to Iraqi capitulation to the Shah in 1975 over control of the Shat al Arab. This is the estuary of the Tigris and Euphrates, that separates the two countries inland from the Gulf and is Iraq's only access to Basra, its upriver port.

Five years later, in 1980, Iraq invaded Iran to redress the C.I.A.-assisted humiliation of 1975, and to regain control of the estuary, beginning the eight year war that cost a million lives.

Apart from Iraq's historical claims on Kuwait and its need for access to the sea, two related disputes came to a head just before the invasion. First was the price of oil. OPEC had set the price at \$18 per barrel in 1986, together with production quotas to maintain that price. But Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates had long exceeded their quotas, driving the price down to around \$13 in June. Iraq, saddled with a \$70 billion debt from the war with Iran, was losing billions of dollars

in oil revenues which normally account for 95% or more of its exports. Meanwhile, industrialized oil consumers like the United States were enjoying the best price in forty years, in inflation-adjusted dollars.

Iraq's other claim against Kuwait was theft. While Iraq was at war with Iran in the 1980's, Kuwait began pumping from Iraq's vast Rumaila field that dips into a disputed border area. Iraq demanded payment for oil taken from this field as well as forgiveness of Kuwaiti loans to Iraq during the war with Iran.

Last July, as OPEC oil ministers met in Geneva, Iraq massed troops on the Kuwaiti border. That pressure brought Kuwait and the Emirates to agree to stop over-producing, and OPEC set a new target price of \$21 per barrel although Iraq had



Marilyn Harrison of Salisbury, NC and Milicent Baez of Dallas, TX protest against the war with the Military Families Support Network. (Rick Reinhard)

"NEW WORLD ORDER"

insisted on \$25. But after the OPEC meeting Hussein increased his troops on the border from 30,000 to 100,000 to pressure Kuwait still more on access to the Gulf, the loans, and payment for oil thefts from Rumaila. On August 1st Kuwaiti and Iraqi negotiators, meeting in Saudi Arabia, failed to reach agreement; the next night Iraq invaded.

Revelations since then, together with a review of other events prior to the invasion, strongly suggest that U.S. policy was to have Saddam Hussein think he could invade Kuwait with impunity, and when invasion was imminent, to do nothing to discourage him. Consider the following.

During the Iraq-Iran war in the 1980's, the U.S. sided with Iraq and continued this policy right up to August 2nd, the day of the invasion. In April, four months earlier, the Assistant Secretary of State for the Middle East, John Kelly, testified before Congress that the United States had no commitment to defend Kuwait. On July 25th, with Iraqi troops massed on the Kuwait border, the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq, April Glaspie, met with Hussein. Minutes of the meeting were given by the Iraqis to the Washington Post in mid-August.

According to these minutes, which have not been disputed by the State Department, the Ambassador told Hussein that Secretary of State James Baker had instructed her to emphasize to Hussein that the U.S. has "no opinion" on Iraqi-Kuwait border disputes.

Even with 100,000 Iraqi troops massed at that moment on the Kuwait border, the Ambassador gave no warning from Baker or Bush that the U.S. would oppose an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, whether partial or complete. On the contrary she said, *I have a direct instruction from the President to seek better relations with Iraq*. On the same day Assistant Secretary of State Kelly cancelled a planned Voice of America broadcast that would have warned Iraq that the U.S. was "strongly committed" to the defense of its friends in the Gulf, including Kuwait.

During the week between the Ambassador's meeting with Hussein and the invasion, the Bush Administration forbade any official warning to Hussein against invasion, or to the thousands of people who might become hostages. Assistant Secretary Kelly, two days before the invasion, again testified before Congress to the effect that the U.S. had no commitment to defend Kuwait. And, according to press reports and Senator Boren, who heads the Senate Intelligence Committee, the C.I.A. had predicted the invasion some four days before it happened.

Put these events together and add the total absence of any public or private warning by Bush to Hussein not to invade, together with no U.S. effort to create international opposition while there was

time. There was plenty of time, for example, to call an emergency meeting of the U.N. Security Council — even to rush a multi-national military force to Kuwait like the British had done before.

Assuming the U.S. was not indifferent to an invasion, one has to ask whether Bush policy was in effect to encourage Hussein to create a world crisis. Or, to ask in the more familiar form, what did Bush know about the coming invasion, when did he know it, and why did he do nothing to stop it?

Certainly Bush was not blind to Hussein's potential for making a crisis. Iraq had chemical weapons and had already used them against Iran and some say against Kurds inside Iraq. He was known to be within a few years of possessing nuclear weapons, although he had proposed elimination from the region of all weapons of mass destruction, nuclear, chemical and biological — a proposal rejected by Israel and the United States.

Hussein had completely upset the power balance in the Middle East by creating an army one million strong. He aspired to leadership of the Arab world against Israel, and he was feared by all the so-called moderate, (i.e., feudal) Arab regimes, not just Kuwait. And with Kuwait's

petroleum he would control 20% of the world's reserves, a concentration in radical nationalist hands that would be unacceptable to the industrialized world, even, perhaps, to the Soviet Union, Iraq's main arms supplier.

Saddam Hussein, then, was the perfect subject to allow enough rein to create a crisis. And however unacceptable, his reasons for moving against Kuwait were certainly no less grounded in history and immediate grievances than U.S. justification of aggression in Vietnam, or against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada or Panama. But Hussein was

also the perfect subject for post-invasion media demonization, through symbolism like the comparisons with Hitler, just as Manuel Noriega — also a former U.S. ally — was

transformed into a monster.

Bush needed propaganda like that in order to obscure the hypocrisy in converting a situation in which one day the U.S. had "no opinion" on the Iraq-Kuwait border dispute, and "no commitment" to defend Kuwait, into the next day, the greatest crisis since World War II. In Bush's words: *Nothing of this moral importance since World War II*. Imagine Bush's joy a few days later when the New York Times published an op-ed piece praising the *highly moral* nature of Bush's policy, written by America's foremost authority on morality, none other than Richard Nixon.

Why would Bush seek a world crisis? The first suggestion came, for me at least, when he uttered those words about "our way of life" being at stake. They brought to mind Harry Truman's speech in 1950 that broke Congressional and popular

What did Bush know about the coming invasion, when did he know it, and why did he do nothing to stop it?...

...Why would Bush seek a world crisis?

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resistance to Cold War militarism and began 40 years of Pentagon dominance of the U.S. economy.

It's worth recalling Truman's speech because Bush is trying to use the Gulf crisis, as Truman used the Korean war, to justify enormous military expenditures in reaction to economic slump and recession, while reducing as much as possible spending on civilian and social Programs. Exactly what Reagan and Bush did, for example, in the early and mid-1980's with the 'evil empire' scenario as justification.

In early 1950 the Truman Administration adopted a program to vastly expand the U.S. and West European military services under a National Security Council document called NSC-68. This document was Top Secret for twenty-five years and only by error

was it released in 1975 and published. The purpose of military expansion under NSC-68 was to reverse the economic slide that began with the end of World War II wherein during five years the U.S. GNP had declined 20% and unemployment had risen from 700,000 to 4.7 million. U.S. exports, despite the subsidy

program known as the Marshall Plan, were inadequate to sustain the economy, and remilitarization of Western Europe would allow transfer of dollars, under so-called defense support grants, that would in turn generate European imports from the U.S.

As NSC-68 put the situation in early 1950: *the United States and other free nations will within a period of a few years at most experience a decline in economic activity of serious proportions unless more positive governmental programs are developed...*

The solution adopted, the 'more positive governmental programs,' was expansion of the military. But support in Congress and the public at large was lacking, for a variety of reasons, not least the increased taxes the programs would require. So Truman's State Department, under Dean Acheson, set out to sell the so-called communist threat as justification, through a fear campaign in the media that would create a permanent crisis atmosphere.

But the domestic media campaign was not enough to sell the new militarism. A real crisis was needed, and it came in Korea. Historians like I.F. Stone, Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, and others have shown

how the Truman Administration manipulated the Korean crisis to overcome opposition to the programs of NSC-68, and a review of those events shows striking parallels with the Persian Gulf crisis of today.

Korea at the end of World War II had been divided north-south along the 38th parallel by the U.S. and the Soviets. Five years of on-again, off-again conflict followed between the respective states established first by the U.S. in the south, then by the Soviets in the north. Both states threatened to reunify the country by force, by force, and border incursions with heavy fighting by military forces were common.

In June 1950, communist North Korean military

forces moved across the border toward Seoul, the South Korean capital. At the time, the North Korean move was called "naked aggression," but I.F. Stone made a convincing case, in his *Hidden History of the Korean War*, that the invasion was in fact deliberately provoked by South Korean incursions against the North.

For a month South Korean

forces retreated, practically without fighting, in effect inviting the North Koreans to follow them south. Meanwhile, Truman rushed in U.S. military forces under a United Nations command, and he made a dramatic appeal to Congress for an additional \$10 billion, beyond requirements for Korea, for U.S. and European military expansion. Congress refused.

Truman then made a fateful decision. In September 1950, about three months after the conflict began, U.S., South Korean and token forces from other countries, under the United Nations banner, began to push back the North Koreans. Within three weeks the North Koreans had been pushed north to the border, the 38th parallel, in defeat. That would have been the end of the matter, at least the military action, if the U.S. had accepted a Soviet U.N. resolution for a ceasefire and U.N.-supervised country-wide elections.

Truman, however, needed to prolong the crisis in order to overcome congressional and public resistance to his plans for U.S. and European rearmament. Although the U.N. resolution under which U.S. forces were fighting called only for "repelling" aggression from the north, Truman had another plan. In early October U.S. and South



A victim of the North-South dimension of the cold war, this Nicaraguan boy was being treated for severe burns suffered during a *contra* raid on his village. (John Banasiak)

"NEW WORLD ORDER"

Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel heading north, and rapidly advanced toward the Yalu River, North Korea's border with China where, only the year before, the communists had defeated the U.S.-backed Kuomintang regime. The Chinese communist government threatened to intervene, but Truman had decided to overthrow the communist government in North Korea and unite the country under the anti-communist South Korean dictatorship.

As predicted, the Chinese entered the war in November and forced the U.S. and its allies to retreat once again southward. The following month, with the U.S. media full of stories and pictures of American soldiers retreating through snow and ice before hordes of advancing Chinese troops, Truman went on national radio, declared a state of national emergency, and said what Bush's remarks about "our way of life" at stake recalled. Truman mustered all the hype and emotion he could, and said: "Our homes, our nation, all the things that we believe in, are in great danger. This danger has been created by the rulers of the Soviet Union." He also called again for massive increases in military spending for U.S. and European forces, apart from needs in Korea.

Of course, there was no threat of war with the Soviet Union at all. Truman attributed the Korean situation to the Russians in order to create emotional hysteria, a false threat, and to get the leverage over Congress needed for approval of the huge amounts of arms money that Congress had refused. As we know, Truman's deceit worked. Congress went along, in its so-called bi-partisan spirit, like so many of the sheep in the same offices today. The U.S. military budget more than tripled from \$13 billion in 1950 to \$44 billion in 1952, while U.S. military forces doubled to 3.6 million. The Korean War continued for three more years, after it could have ended, with the final casualty count in the millions, including 34,000 U.S. dead and more than 100,000 wounded. The permanent war economy became a reality, and we have lived with it for forty years.

What are the parallels between Korea and the current Gulf crisis? First, Korea in June 1950 was already a crisis of borders and unification demands, simply waiting for escalation. Second, less than six months before the Korean war began, Secretary of State Dean Acheson publicly placed South Korea outside the U.S. defense perimeter in Asia, just as Assistant Secretary Kelly denied any U.S. defense commitment to Kuwait.

Third, the U.S. obtained quick U.N. justification for a massive military intervention, but only for

repelling the North Koreans, not for conquest of that country. Similarly, the U.N. resolutions call for defense of Saudi Arabia, and for expelling Iraq from Kuwait, not for military conquest of Iraq. Fourth, both crises came at a time of U.S. economic weakness with a recession or even worse downturn threatening just ahead.

Fifth, and this is totally relevant to the Gulf, the Korean crisis was deliberately prolonged in order to establish military expenditures as the motor of the U.S. economy. Proceeding in the same manner now would simply be an adjustment to allow continuation of what began in 1950.

NSC-68 required a significant expansion of C.I.A. operations around the world in order to fight the secret political Cold War — a war against socialist economic programs, against communist parties,

Hitherto accepted norms of human conduct do not apply... long-standing American concepts of fair play must be reconsidered...we must learn to subvert, sabotage, and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us.

against left social democrats, against neutralism, against disarmament, against relaxation of tensions, and against the peace offensive then being waged by the Soviet Union.

In Western Europe, through a vast network of political action and propaganda operations, the C.I.A. was called upon to create in the public mind, the specter of imminent Soviet invasion combined with

the intention of the European left to enslave the population under Soviet dominion.

By 1953, as a result of NSC-68, the C.I.A. had major covert action programs underway in 48 countries, consisting of propaganda, paramilitary and political action operations — such as buying elections and subsidizing political parties. The bureaucracy grew accordingly: in mid-1949 the covert action arm of the C.I.A. had about 300 employees and seven overseas field stations. Three years later there were 2,800 employees and 47 field stations. In the same period the covert action budget grew from \$4.7 million to \$82 million.

By the mid-1950's the name for the "enemy" was no longer just the Soviet Union. The wider concept of "International Communism" better expressed the global view of secret conspiracies run from Moscow to undermine the U.S. and its allies. One previously secret document from 1955 outlines the C.I.A.'s tasks:

Create and exploit problems for International Communism. Discredit International Communism and reduce the strength of its parties and organization. Reduce International Communist control over any areas of the world... specifically such operations shall include any covert activities related to: propaganda, political action, economic warfare, preventive direct action, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition, escape and evasion and evacuation measures;

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subversion against hostile states or groups, including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerrillas and refugee liberation groups; support of indigenous and anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world; deception plans and all compatible activities necessary to accomplish the foregoing."

Another document on C.I.A. operations from the same period said, in extracts:

"Hitherto accepted norms of human conduct do not apply... long-standing American concepts of fair play must be reconsidered...we must learn to subvert, sabotage, and destroy our enemies by more clever, more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us. It may become necessary that the American people be made acquainted with, understand, and support this fundamentally repugnant philosophy."

And so, from the late 1940's until the mid-1950's, the C.I.A. organized sabotage and propaganda operations against every country of Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union.

They tried to foment rebellion and to hinder those countries' efforts to rebuild from the devastation of World War II. Though unsuccessful against the Soviet Union, these operations had some successes in other countries, notably in East Germany. This was the easiest target because, as one former C.I.A. officer wrote "before the wall went up in 1961 all an infiltrator needed was good documents and a railway ticket."

From about 1949, the C.I.A. organized sabotage operations against targets in East Germany in order to slow reconstruction and economic recovery. The purpose was to create a huge contrast between West Germany, then receiving billions of U.S. dollars for reconstruction, and the "other Germany" under Soviet control.

William Blum, in his excellent history of the C.I.A., lists an astonishing range of destruction: "through explosives, arson, short circuiting, and other methods, they damaged power stations, shipyards, a dam, canals, docks, public buildings, petrol stations, shops, outdoor stands, a radio station, public transportation... derailed freight trains... blew up road and railway bridges... used special acid to damage vital factory machinery... killed 7000 cows... added soap to powdered milk destined for East German schools," and much, much more.

These activities were worldwide, and not only directed against Soviet-supported governments. During forty years, as the East-West military standoff stabilized, the C.I.A. was a principal weapon in waging the North-South dimension of the Cold War, i.e., the war against the Third World. It did so through operations intended to destroy nationalist, reformist and liberation movements, through political repression (torture and death squads), and by the overthrow of

democratically elected civilian governments, replacing them with military dictatorships. The Agency also organized paramilitary forces to overthrow governments, with the contra operation in Nicaragua only a recent example.

This North South dimension of the Cold War was over control of natural resources, labor and markets, and it continues today with all its racist content. Anyone who says the Cold War has ended should think again: the East-West dimension may have ended with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, but the North-South dimension, which is where the fighting really took place, as in Vietnam, is still on.

The current Persian Gulf crisis is the latest episode, and it gives the Bush Administration a pretext to institutionalize the north-south dimension under the euphemism of a "new international order," as he calls it. The means will be a continuation of U.S.

militarism within the context, if they are successful, of a new multilateral, international framework. Remember that early on, James Baker was testing the winds with proposals for a NATO-style alliance in the Gulf.

The goal in seeking and obtaining the current crisis stopped short of a shooting war, or so it seemed at the beginning. After all, a war with Iraq would not be a matter of days. Public opinion in the U.S. would turn against Bush in days if young Americans in

large numbers start coming back in body bags, as the General who Bush fired, admitted. And with the likely interruption of Gulf oil shipments, an all out war could be catastrophic for the world economy.

At first I thought the purpose was not a shooting war but a crisis that could be maintained as long as possible, long after the Iraqi-Kuwait problem is resolved. This would prolong the "international threat" - remember Truman in 1950 - and allow Bush to prevent cuts in the military budget to avoid any peace dividend, and to prevent conversion of the economy to peaceful, human-oriented purposes. After all, when you factor in all military-related expenses, they add up to double or more the official figure of 26 percent of the national budget for defense. Some, like Gore Vidal, calculate that two-thirds of the federal budget goes for defense in one way or another.

The so-called national security state of the past forty years has meant enormous riches, and power, for those who are in the game. It has also meant population control — control of the people of the U.S. and many other countries. Bush and his team, and those they represent, will do whatever is necessary to keep the game going. Elitist control of the U.S. rests on this game. This is the *way of life* that Bush saw at stake.

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"NEW WORLD ORDER"

Just imagine the joy this crisis has brought to U.S. military industries that only months ago were quaking over their possibilities for survival in a post-Cold War world. Not six weeks passed after the Iraqi invasion before the Pentagon proposed the largest arms sale in history: \$21 billion worth of hardware for Saudi Arabia.

Sales like that, when combined with the rise in the price of oil, are one very effective way to transfer wealth from ordinary citizens buying at the pump or for heating homes, first to the oil companies, then to producers like the Saudis, then back to U.S. arms manufacturers. In effect it's a substitute for taxes to subsidize the arms industry.

Speaking of money, most of us have noticed, I'm sure, the arguments over how much the U.S., Japanese and West

European governments should pay, and how much the Kuwaitis, the Saudis and other Gulf sheikdoms should pay. And the division: how much for the military operations, and how much for countries hurt by the commercial blockade of Iraq, like Turkey, Jordan and Egypt.

All along this seemed like such a false argument to me. The Kuwaitis, Saudis and other Gulf sheiks should pay every last penny of the costs, both military and commercial. After all, it's their oil, supposedly, and their regimes, certainly, that are being protected. Their windfall profits from this crisis, together with past and future earnings, give them more than the means to pay 100% - whether it's \$30 billion a year or even more.

In fact the Saudis and other Sheiks should not only pay costs, by right they should pay fees in the form of premiums, to the various governments that have contributed armed forces. They should also pay death benefits to survivors of all those killed, and the cost of treating all who are wounded in their defense. And in the aftermath they should pay for all U.S. and other foreign military forces that remain in their defense.

Such an arrangement would at least conform to reality, that is to say, the U.S. and other foreign armies sent in defense of the Sheiks would be acknowledged as what they are: modern-day mercenaries sent on expedition to defend foreign governments.

Such an arrangement would also conform with U.S. economic reality. With a national debt of \$3

trillion, some \$800 billion owned by foreigners, and the debt constantly increasing with huge budget and trade deficits, it was surely only a matter of time before the government would have to hire out the armed forces abroad, like one more export. But a crisis was needed to obscure this process, and Saddam Hussein did the favour.

As for the price of oil, everyone knows that the price rises since August 2nd had no basis in any fall in supply. The Saudis and others made up the shortfall from Iraq and Kuwait. It was fear of an all-out Gulf war, thanks to Bush's actions and words, that caused the price to rise in benefit of the producing countries and the oil companies — an industry that made Bush himself a wealthy man.

Fear, of course, has always been a prime factor that makes the marketplace so magical - for the insiders, that is.

Everyone also knows that when oil gets above \$25-30 a barrel it becomes counter-productive for the Saudis and the Husseins and other producers. Alternative energy sources become attractive and conservation again becomes fashionable. Saddam Hussein accepted \$21 in July, and even if, with control of Kuwait, he had been able to get the price up to \$25, that would have been manageable for the United States and other industrial economies. Instead, because of this crisis, it's gone over \$35 and even up to \$40, saddling non-oil producing Third World countries with enormous new debt.

More important still, access to Middle East oil for industrialized countries was never threatened. The producers, including Iraq, have to sell to sell to sustain their own economies and development projects. They get no benefits from either withholding oil or forcing the price too high. On the contrary, in doing so they hurt themselves. We must not be deceived by Bush's rhetorical device, "stopping naked aggression," which cloaks a traditional imperialist intervention in idealism. Examples abound of U.S. tolerance or connivance in "naked aggression," with the aggressors generously rewarded. Israel receives billions despite its occupation and repression in the West Bank, Gaza, the Golan heights, and part of Lebanon. Turkey took over by force one-third of Cyprus in the 1970's and has since received more than \$9



On January 26, 1991 over 175,000 people marched in San Francisco to call for peace in the Middle East. This was the largest West Coast march in history. (Impact Visuals)

GULF WAR LAUNCHES "NEW WORLD ORDER"

billion in aid. Syria occupies a large part of Lebanon, without a whimper from Washington. Indonesia annexed East Timor, the former Portuguese colony, in the 1970's, with U.S. approval, and with a savagery perhaps equalled in this century only by U.S. pacification of the Philippines in the early 1900's.

"Stopping naked aggression" is no more than a myth to cover a long-sought U.S. goal: a permanent military presence in Saudi Arabia in order to police the region like the British did before, keeping the Arabs divided.

One thing we should never forget is that a nation's foreign policy is a product of its domestic system. From that it follows that we should look to our domestic system for the reasons why Bush needed this crisis, and why he and his entourage need to prevent dismantling the national security state.

First, we know that the domestic system in this country is in crisis, and that throughout history foreign crises have been manufactured, provoked and used to divert attention from domestic troubles — a way of rallying people around the flag, that is to say, in support of the government of the day. How convenient now for deflecting attention from the Savings and Loan scandal, for example, to be paid not by the crooks but by ordinary, honest people.

Second, we know that the system is not fair, that about one in three people are economically deprived, either in absolute poverty or so close that they have no relief from want. We also know that one-in-three Americans is illiterate, either totally or to the degree that they cannot function in a society based on the written word. We also know that one-in-three Americans does not even register

to vote, and of those who register 20% don't vote. This means we elect a president with about 25% or slightly less of the potential votes. The reasons why people don't vote are complex, but not the least of them is the widespread belief that individual votes won't change anything.

Third, we know that during the last ten years these domestic problems have gotten even worse thanks to the Reagan-Bush policy of transferring wealth from the middle and poor classes to the wealthy, while cutting back on social programs. Add to this the usual litany of crises: education, health care, environment, racism, women's rights, homophobia, prevention and cure of AIDS, the infrastructure, productivity, research, and ability, or inability, to compete in the international marketplace. Put these together and it seems to me you get a picture of a nation in profound domestic crisis. This domestic crisis, not the Persian Gulf as Bush would have it, is the greatest — and longest running — crisis since World War II.

Having failed even to begin resolution of the country's domestic crises, Bush and his men knew his re-election next year would depend on a dramatic foreign policy success. Although a gamble, "saving the world from Saddam Hussein" will surely be his main re-election campaign theme. Exposing the truth of Bush's role in this crisis can turn that theme against him.

In the long run, only radical change in the U.S. domestic system will allow the popular will to end aggressive foreign interventions, including the overthrow of democratically elected civilian governments by the C.I.A. But in the short run, public pressure for an immediate cease-fire in this unnecessary and avoidable war can save thousands, or hundreds of thousands of lives.

Philip Agee was the first CIA secret operations officer to go public in protest over the Agency's covert operations. His 1975 exposé, **"Inside the Company: C.I.A. Diary"**, was an international bestseller published in 28 languages. Since then he has vocally denounced C.I.A. support of torture, political assassination, death squads, and overthrow of democratically elected governments. His latest book, **"On The Run"** (Bloomsbury, '87) is an absorbing narrative of his experiences whilst exposing CIA operations around the world.

Six U.S. administrations and their European allies have surveilled, hounded, intimidated and jailed Agee, while five NATO countries expelled him as "subversive". In 1979 his U.S. passport was revoked for causing "serious damage to the national security and foreign policy of the United States." But Agee, who has lived in Europe for 20 years, continued to travel thanks to honorary passports, first from Grenada before the 1983 invasion, then from Nicaragua.

He is currently writing another book, **"The ABC's of the C.I.A."** which he intends to be the definitive guide to understanding and exposing CIA operations.

A 45-minute video based on this article, including details of his legal battle to reinstate his U.S. passport and expose government attempts to silence him is available from Agee's lecture bureau, **Speak Out!** Coordinator, 2215-R Market Street, No. 520, San Francisco, CA 94114 (415) 864-4561 and (619) 223-3219.

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The Economic League is **WATCHING** you!

The Economic League: Against Democracy

Details of the activities of the Economic League have slowly been coming to light in the past few years. We know that the League keeps files on more than 250,000 people in Britain. It performs a "vetting" service by selling its (often wildly inaccurate) information to employers, who use it to discriminate against people, purely on the basis of their alleged political views. This can mean unemployment for the many thousands of individuals who, unknown to themselves, are held on the Economic League's files.

Surveillance

The League's publication, "Companies under Attack", lists organisations it feels to be "suspect". These include the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Oxfam, Christian Aid, C.N.D., the Child Poverty Action Group and the Low Pay Unit; hardly, one might think, a collection of dangerous radicals or subversives. But it is by no means necessary to belong to any of these organisations in order to earn a place on the League's blacklist; simply writing a letter to your local paper could earn you a lifetime's reputation as a subversive, entirely without your knowledge.

Why, then, should the extremely anti-democratic and secretive Economic League have the right to deny people their livelihoods purely on the basis of legitimate political activity? The National Campaign for Civil Liberties has called this repugnant activity 'the silent McCarthyism'.

False Information

The often fraudulent and dishonest means which the League uses to collect information (e.g. illegal access to 'confidential' police files by former members of the Police Force, informal links to Special Branch and M.I.5.) would account for the large number of simple errors and out of date claims held on their files. Yet there is no independent way to check the League's stores of information. They invite people who are worried to write in giving full personal details to be checked against their files. Save the Economic League valuable time!

"...if you do wish to pursue your enquiry, it would be helpful if you let us have further details which you think may enable us to identify information which we may hold about you as against anyone else of the same name. For example, full christian names, date of birth, employers and private addresses within the last ten years, political affiliations, articles or letters published, publications written and/or the reasons why you believe we may have some reference to you.

Yours sincerely,
Michael Noar,
Director General

In the past 20 years about 4.5 million people have been screened by the League for the 2000 or so companies using its blacklisting services.

If there is any doubt about the identity of an individual, the

League will discourage employment; one victim of the League's carelessness, for example, was simply 'guilty' of sharing the surname and initial of a prominent Communist in the Newcastle area.

As one League official told Glaxo personnel manager R.Stokes, the only important thing is to make sure that no subversive could possibly be omitted.

It is clear that something must be done to stop the League's

'Kangaroo Court' judgments, with their power to take away people's livelihoods, and so ruin their lives. For a start, Parliament could tighten up existing laws guaranteeing access to personal records. M.P. Maria Fyfe has already attempted

to do this, and pledges to try again. The League's personal records are kept on card files which circumvent the current laws, though they seem geared up to use computers. So we may soon be able to pay for a search under the Data Protection Act; "a straightforward donation would be as productive."! Perhaps a Bill of Rights or an Anti-Discrimination Law could end the League's anti-democratic practices? We ourselves can try to ensure that we (or any unions or organisations to which we belong) put pressure, such as boycotts, on any companies which use the services of the Economic League. To put it simply, all questioning or publicity about the nature of the Economic League acts as pressure against its fundamentally anti-democratic and Orwellian practices. I.B.M. and the Midland Bank, amongst others, already claim to have broken their links with the League. Hopefully the rest can be persuaded to follow.

The League is far more than just a 'blacklisting' service though. It is highly political, and forms a link between industry and the shady world of Britain's 'secret state'. It tries to divert attention from its extremely right-wing goals and links to the secret services by claiming to support the whole of the democratic centre of British politics including the Labour party.

CUTTINGS SERVICE OF THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE

The attached sheets have been compiled from a selection of the national daily press and other magazines and are intended to cover items of interest in the UK as a whole.

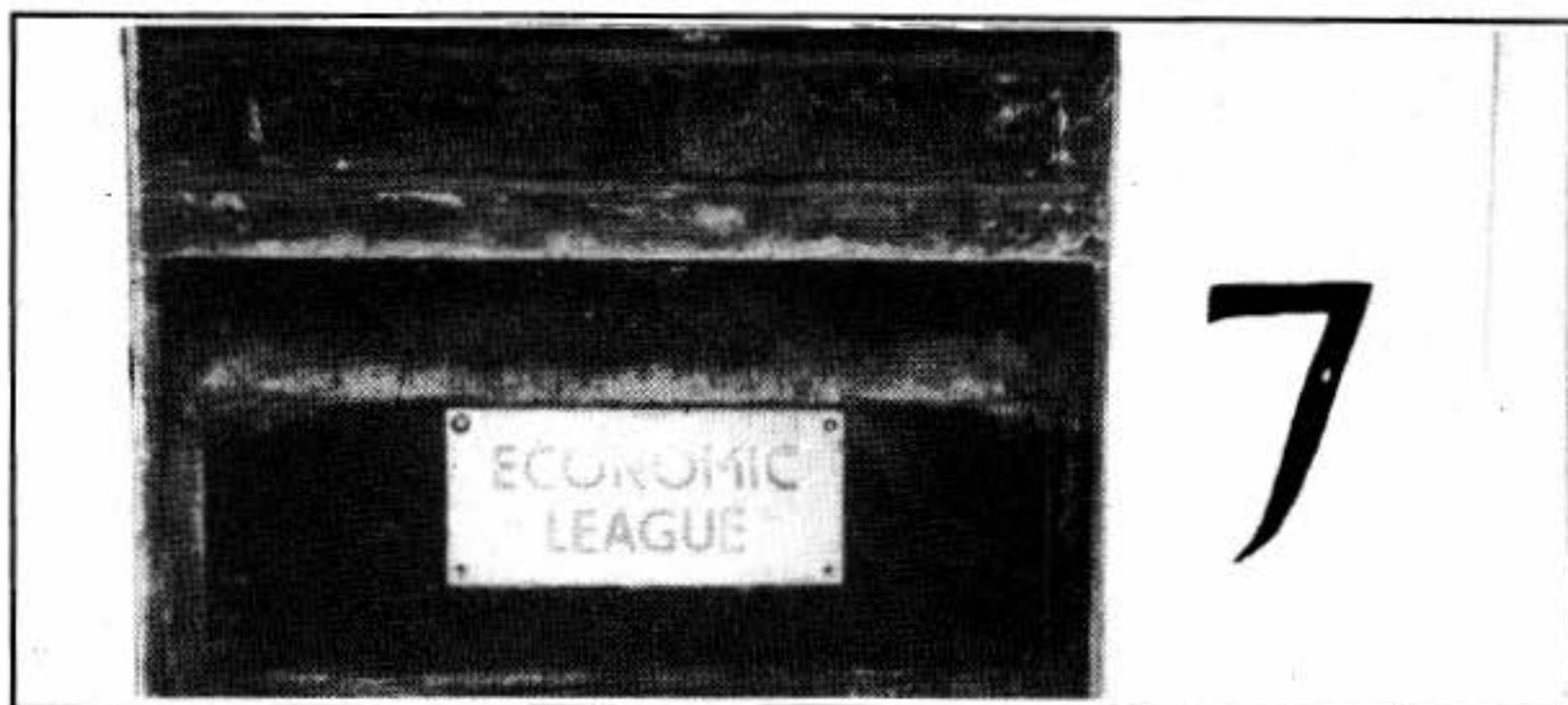
she graduated from Oxford University with a degree in literature and science of materials and worked as a designer in Formula One racing cars. She is now managing manager of the party's magazine, *Living Marxism*, and speaks a definitive example of the brilliant cadre haircut. She says that during the party has given meaning and focus to her life.

In three years at Oxford the RCP was the first thing that forced me to challenge my ideas and think things through," she says. "I went to a meeting called 'What is Marxism?' and found it incredibly intellectually stimulating. Complicated ideas were presented clearly and with a high level of discussion afterwards. For the first time I felt I had a role in politics. Outside the RCP I felt a lack of confidence, but the party gives you a framework and constantly sets new challenges.

"It's a good time to be a revolutionary in British politics. The old

be reckoned with. A graduate of Leeds University, Tony Kennedy, 26, found in the RCP the answers that his politics degree had failed to supply. Marked out for a bright future in the party, he began with a bang at the way Britain is governed. "I've always hated the people that run society because they can't have any respect for them," he says. "The RCP offers something for people who want to fight."

"It's a desire to get rid of these people because they're not up to the job. The right wing talks about the loony left but compare what we do to them. Look at Parliament on the day of the Queen's Speech. People dress up in eighteenth-century costumes while some bloke bangs on the door with a bit of metal. Or Judge Pickles, a pensioner in tights and a funny wig. That's loony."



(Headquarters; nameplate since removed)

Here for the first time in print is an article written by the Economic League about the decline of the Left and the growing importance of newer movements which it would similarly like to curtail: animal rights supporters, campaigners against the food and drug industries, anarchists and the 'mischief-makers' of the environmental movement.

In the Economic League's own words...

"The great strength of Marxism was its certainty of ultimate victory. It was scientifically proven to be historically inevitable. Communists could see themselves, whatever their short-term setbacks, as being part of a great and fundamental change in world history.

All that has gone. Communism has been proved to be just another political theory, as subject to fads and fashions and to the strength and weaknesses of its leaders as any other.

Internationally, it is seen to be in retreat, not just in Afghanistan or the satellite states, but in its own heartland, in Russia itself.

In Britain, the birthplace of Marxism, the once self-confident and single Communist Party of Great Britain has split and divided into a plethora of squabbling groups, each claiming to be the defender of the true faith. The over-riding impression is one of muddle with no sign of a leader of national stature coming forward to restore unity or order. Much hangs on the battle for the Labour Party and the Unions.

The Communist Party of Great Britain remains politically very influential. Its weekly (sic) paper 'Marxism Today' is the best and brightest of the "Labour Movement" papers. Although its sales are substantially below the peak of 20,000 copies it achieved in ----, it is still read by many well outside the Party itself.

The C.P.G.B. still has many sympathisers in education, the media and in a range of opinion forming pressure groups. Through all of these different routes it retains a strong influence on policy-making with the Labour Party's currently dominant "soft left". At the same time the CPGB has largely abandoned the strong position it once held within the Trades Unions and hence it has also lost most of its industrial muscle.

The position of the various Trotskyist groups is almost the complete reverse of this. While their members have been largely successful in keeping their Labour Party membership cards, they have been confined to the "hard left" minority within the Party and have little or no influence on policy. On the industrial front, however, Militant Tendency in

...environmental and quality of life issues are providing scope for mischief-making...

...concerns with the natural and built environment, pesticides, drugs, food, nuclear power, the treatment of animals etc. can all be distorted and exaggerated to portray companies and indeed the whole capitalist system as uncaring.

particular has taken over some of the influence within the unions previously enjoyed by the CPGB. The Tendency's industrial front, BLOC, is newer and more active than the now rather tired LCDTU, mainly now associated with the Communist Party of Britain. Having said that, however, a power base within the unions is not what it was, simply because the power of the unions to influence either industrial, or political events is much diminished.

So long as the country continues to enjoy increasing prosperity and industrial peace, all of this jockeying for position remains largely irrelevant. However, the fact remains that a large number of assorted revolutionaries are still there, as committed as ever and in positions of potential power and influence. Their current divisions are born out of failure and frustration. If the general political and industrial situation should change in their favour they will quickly unite to make common cause against the Free Enterprise system.

In the meantime, those not prepared to sit around and wait are busy on two different lines.

First, the anarchists are successfully exploiting the apparent failure of the revolutionary parties. Their line that the unions and political parties will always end up selling out to the establishment, and that only direct action will achieve anything is finding more takers. Their message that it is morally good to attack or steal from "the rich", coupled with advice on how to do it and not get caught is clearly dangerous.

Second, the problems of prosperity, particularly environmental and quality of life issues are providing scope for mischief-making of a much more subtle kind. Perfectly real, genuine and proper

concerns with the natural and built environment, pesticides, drugs, food, nuclear power, the treatment of animals etc. can all be distorted and exaggerated to portray companies and indeed the whole capitalist system as uncaring."

NOTE

The trouble-making 'anarchists' in question are, in particular, Hooligan Press who published "Written in Flames - Naming the British Ruling Class" - a guide to the homes and clubs of the 'Ruling Class' - and "Without a Trace - A Forensics Manual for You and Me" - a self-help guide for animal liberationists etc. - Amongst other books, they also published "Radio is my Bomb - A D.I.Y. Manual for Pirates", nothing to do with high-explosives, luckily, but a step by step guide to setting up your own 'pirate' radio station!

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THE ECONOMIC LEAGUE

*** UPDATE ***

Recently there has been talk of the League compiling new special lists of animal rights activists, gays/lesbians and people with AIDS. This would seem to be in keeping with the change of focus away from the Left of old to include newer social movements as well as the growing anarchist influence. An AIDS list is clearly an attempt to cash in on the paranoia of a public ill-informed about AIDS.

Bad publicity and company withdrawals are putting the pressure on the League's business. Companies are dissociating themselves from the League: I.B.M.'s subscription for League services lapsed in early 1987 and hasn't been renewed, Lloyds severed their links following a "change in direction" and Beecham's claim that: "It is completely inaccurate to suggest that we used their enquiry service regarding individuals seeking employment with the company". This doesn't mean that after 70 years they have failed; far from it. The 1980s was a decade in which the hardline free-enterprise/anti-union agenda of secretive rightwing groups like the League, the Freedom Association, I.R.I.S. etc. became the policy agenda of the particular branch of the Conservative leadership which they helped to power. Lord Chalfont, a long time associate of many of the most dubious groups, was awarded with the directorship of the I.B.A. by Margaret Thatcher for his sterling work.

The League's blacklists in Britain, designed to destroy people only economically, are like a milder version of the hitlists of human rights activists, unionists and radical religious workers, that we see in the Third World.

Further reading:

"Blacklist - The Inside Story of Political Vetting" (Hogarth Press 1988) by Mark Hollingsworth and Richard Norton-Taylor.

"The Economic League - The Silent McCarthyism" (N.C.C.L. 1989) by Mark Hollingsworth and Charles Tremayne.

"Against Democracy - The True Story of the Economic League" (1-12 Publications, Bradford 1988) by Spig.

THE WAR AND THE MEDIA/SPECTACLE

In America the "success" of the war has diverted attention from the acute social problems that the system is incapable of solving, reinforcing the power of the militarist establishment and the complacency of the patriotic spectators. While the latter are busy watching war reruns and exulting at victory parades, the most interesting question is what will happen with the people who saw through the show.

Those who saw through the war became aware, if they weren't already, of how much the media falsify reality. Personal participation made this awareness more vivid. To take part in a peace march of a hundred thousand people and then see it given equal-time coverage with a prowar demonstration of a few dozen is an illuminating experience - it brings home the bizarre unreality of the spectacle, as well as calling into question the relevance of tactics based of communicating radical viewpoints by way of the mass media. Even while the war was still going on the protesters saw that they had to confront these questions, and in countless discussions and symposiums on "the war and the media" they examined not only the blatant lies and overt blackouts, but the more subtle methods of media distortion—use of emotionally loaded images; isolation of events from their historical context; limitation of debate to "responsible" options; framing of dissident viewpoints in ways that trivialise them; personification of complex realities (Saddam = Iraq); objectification of persons ("collateral damage"); etc. These examinations are continuing and are giving rise to a veritable industry of articles, lectures and books analysing every aspect of media falsification.

The most naive see the falsifications as mere mistakes or biases the might be corrected if enough members of the audience call in and complain, or otherwise pressure the mass media into presenting a somewhat wider range of viewpoints. At its most radical this perspective is expressed in the limited but suggestive tactic of picketing particular media.

Others, aware that the mass media are owned by the same interests that own the state and the economy and will thus inevitably represent those interests, concentrate on disseminating suppressed information through various alternative media. But the glut of sensational information constantly broadcast in the spectacle is so deadening that the revelation of one more lie or scandal or atrocity seldom leads to anything but increased depression and cynicism.



Others try to break through this apathy by adopting the manipulative methods of propaganda and advertising. An antiwar film, for example, is generally assumed to have a "powerful" effect if it presents a barrage of the horrors of war. The actual subliminal effect of such a barrage is, if anything, prowar—getting caught up in an irresistible onslaught of chaos and violence (as long as it remains comfortably vicarious) is precisely what is exciting about war to jaded spectators. Overwhelming people with a rapid succession of emotion-rousing images only confirms them in their habitual

sense of helplessness in the face of a world beyond their control. Spectators with thirty-second attention spans may be shocked into a momentary antiwar revulsion by pictures of napalmed babies, but they may just as easily be whipped into a fascistic fury the next day by different images—of flag burners, say.

Regardless of their ostensibly radical messages, alternative media have generally reproduced the dominant spectacle-spectator relation. The point is to undermine it—to challenge the conditioning that makes people susceptible to media manipulation in the first place. Which ultimately means challenging the social organisation that produces that conditioning, that turns people into spectators of prefabricated adventures because they are prevented from creating their own.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC SECRETS
No copyright, 3 April 1991
P.O. Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701

This is an edited version of "The War and the Spectacle".
Graphic from "Society for the Eradication of T.V." news
letter, BOX 10491, Oakland, California 94610 U.S.A.

“Attention MOVE! This is America! You have to abide by the laws of the United States.”

The Secret Wars of the F.B.I.

It is not often that something happens which makes you think that the people with power must have finally gone insane. When, in 1985, the Mayor of Philadelphia ordered a house to be firebombed, killing 11 of the people who lived in it, including 5 children; this was a thought that came to mind.

Before we look at the Philadelphia incident we'll first look at some of the earlier actions that the American authorities have taken against people it felt to be a threat. It turns out that the shocking examples given below are not isolated incidents. While most writers like to portray a 'bloodless' political history of voting, changing opinions and the activity of pressure groups, the truth is that these examples show the continuing darker but important use to which power is put: violence.

At the time of the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s the authorities ran a wide-ranging campaign to break up the new political groups and the counterculture. Demonstrating students were shot and killed on campuses, a fact which is abhorrent enough, but a more concerted and violent campaign was carried out against the Black Panther Party (B.P.P.); a radical and militant group campaigning for black rights.

The F.B.I. carried out an extensive program - COINTELPRO - to "neutralise" the B.P.P.; instructions came from F.B.I. chief J. Edgar Hoover to use *"imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the B.P.P."* The food and medical programs the B.P.P. had begun within the community were a particular target; agents were told to *"eradicate its 'serve the people' programs"*.

The F.B.I. wanted as much paranoia as possible within the Party in order to cause disruption and distrust of internal communication and to prevent co-operation and alliances with other radical campaigning groups like the S.D.S. (Students for a Democratic Society) and the Youth International Party (the Yippies!).

They would forge mail, create fake B.P.P. 'propaganda', use disinformation, harassment arrests, informers, agents provocateurs and also 'snitch-jacketing' or 'bad-jacketing'. The latter is a practice known in prisons whereby suspicion, rumours and manufactured evidence are used to point the finger at innocent people for despicable deeds provoking unofficial 'punishment'; in this instance loyal members of the Black Panther Party. The F.B.I. could therefore provoke extreme violence against members from within the Party itself without getting its own hands dirty. Civil rights leader Stokely Carmichael and Black Panther Geronimo Pratt were two of the many targets of 'snitch-jacketing'.

Manufacturing correspondence could also be used to foster splits in the Party and in the countercultural movement in general. For example a memo from the L.A. field office to F.B.I. headquarters, dated 3/12/70, recommended that a letter be forged and sent, ostensibly by a disgruntled Party member to Eldridge Cleaver, the Minister of Information of the B.P.P., in an attempt to *"provoke Cleaver to openly question (Huey P.) Newton's leadership."*

Newton and Cleaver were given the kid glove treatment compared to some less fortunate Panthers. Fred Hampton, for instance, was particularly disliked by the U.S. government agencies for his effectiveness as an organiser and speaker; he was a 'ghetto diplomat' who even began to politicise groups like the several thousand strong street gang, the Black Stone Rangers. The F.B.I. planned something special and decisive for Hampton on

top of the usual harassment; they decided that they needed to kill him.

The F.B.I. obtained a detailed plan of the modest apartment where Hampton lived with some other Black Panthers and, at 4.45 A.M. on December 4th 1969, 14 heavily armed police carried out a raid. Over 200 shots were fired by the police. They knew exactly where Hampton's bed was and he had earlier been given a sleep drug by another F.B.I. operative. The trajectories of most of the shots fired were towards the head of Hampton's bed, which he shared with 8 month pregnant Deborah Johnson, and towards another room where 5 Panthers usually slept.



Fred Hampton in 1969. Fifth Estate Archives

An unidentified policeman in Hampton's room was heard to say *"He'll barely make it"*; more shots followed - two point-blank into the back of 21 year old Hampton's head - and a policeman called Carmody said *"He's good and dead now"*.

As one might expect, however, such an outright political assassination can't be allowed; the story was put out that the two Panthers killed were 'violent'; the police had been defending themselves. State Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan even praised the raiders for their *"remarkable restraint"*, *"bravery"* and *"professional discipline"* in not killing all who were present in the apartment although some quick-witted and 'uncooperative' reporters soon exposed the 'photographic evidence' of the Panthers alleged violence as bogus. It shouldn't be assumed that no-one was prosecuted for an unlawful act that night;



Detroit 1989. Photo Chris.

Deborah Johnson, Hampton's fiancée, found herself in court, she had allegedly "attacked" the policemen who had seconds earlier murdered her husband-to-be. Between 1968 and 1972 at least 38 other Panthers were killed by various police agencies and 12 in "shooting wars" that F.B.I. COINTELPRO specialists had carefully provoked.

An equally lethal campaign was carried out in the 1970s against A.I.M. - the American Indian Movement - . Between 1972 and 1976 at least 69 of its supporters were killed and over 300 violently assaulted or shot.

Though no such major operations have been carried out recently, the incident in Philadelphia in 1985 shows that the use of such tactics still continues.

On May 13th 1985 the City of Philadelphia police surrounded a house belonging to a group of black utopian socialists called MOVE. A city spokesperson explained that "we won't tolerate deviant behaviour that affects others." The police called out: "**Attention MOVE! This is America! You have to abide by the laws of the United States**" and gave them 15 minutes to surrender. Over the next ninety minutes 640,000 gallons of water were aimed at the roof and 10,000 rounds fired into the house from an assortment of rifles, shotguns and machine-guns and even a 20-mm. anti-tank gun. The bomb dropped from a police helicopter was the final stage.

It is ironic, given that the neighbourhood burnt down and 61 other homes were destroyed in the blaze the authorities caused, that the original reason for their intervention was that the neighbours were upset by the group's dreadlocks, dogs, organic waste thrown onto the lawn and use of a loudspeaker to denounce the state and call for the release of nine other MOVE members imprisoned after another assault.

The MOVE members who tried to flee the blaze were shot dead and thrown back into the inferno (presumably to hide the cause of death). Two children who tried to escape were shot down in a back alley. The police claimed that they were armed men.

It is also ironic that Mayor W. Wilson Goode who ordered the assault was Philadelphia's first black mayor and his election had been greeted by most of the city's blacks as a sign of better days to come. Goode told a televised press conference the next day that: "I would do it over and over again, because it was the right decision." Once again a prosecution did arise from the affair; Ramona Africa, the only adult to survive out of the 13 occupants, was charged with assaulting the police.

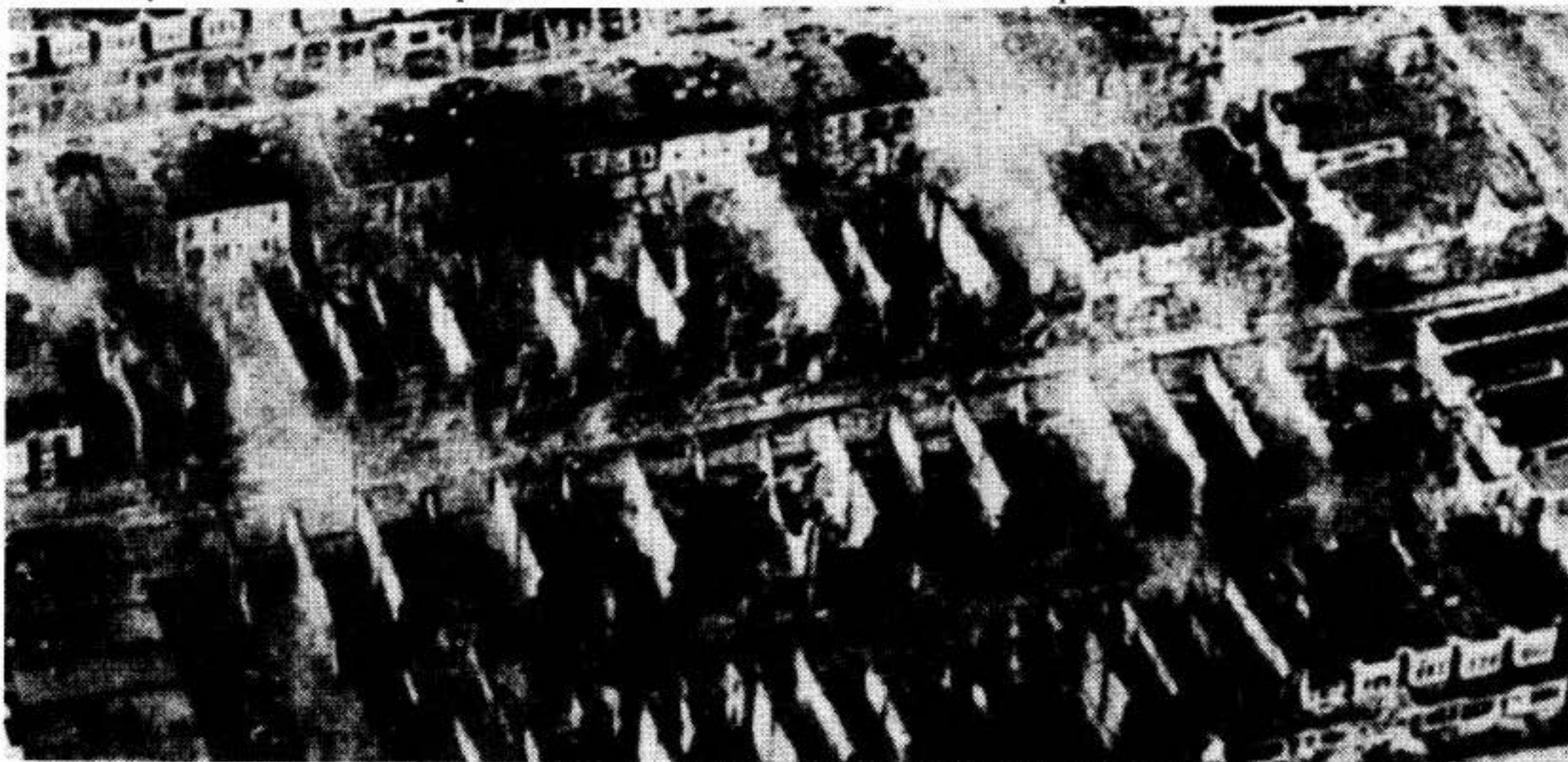
The only child to survive the 'operation', Birdie Africa,

was taken into psychiatric care where, as a part of his care programme - and, quite clearly, as an insult to MOVE's belief in natural wholefoods, he was given a specially prescribed diet of McDonald's burgers to aid his re-entry into 'normal' society and to give him a taste of the 'real' America.



The story doesn't end here though; environmental groups, animal rights groups and people campaigning against U.S. 'low-intensity' war and covert operations in Latin America have been targeted. The group 'Earth First!', for instance, has been infiltrated and some of its best known members have been arrested for attempting to carry out an act of 'eco-sabotage' that a trusted 'friend', and undercover F.B.I. agent, had been urging and helping them to carry out. The agent, 'Mike Tait' quickly disappeared well before the others were paraded chained together in court. The F.B.I.'s main target, Dave Foreman, was not directly involved but was arrested anyway as the 'ringleader' and 'guru' of the Earth First! movement who 'sneaks around in the background' and sends out 'munchkins' to do his work. This may have been a believable argument against Charles Manson, given the deranged crowd which followed him, but against a widely-respected environmental activist?

The 'crime-stopping image' which the F.B.I. likes to put across seems as mistaken as ever; its real and long-standing purpose is still to protect the social and economic status quo.



THE AFTERMATH: 62 HOUSES DESTROYED

Further reading: "Agents of Repression" (South End Press, 1988) by Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall.

"Attention MOVE! This is America!" (Banner 28 Press, Chicago, 1987) by Margot Henry.

The Greens in Conflict

The American and German green movements have been going through difficult times. Some of the U.S. 'deep ecologists' from Earth First! have been called 'eco-fascists' for praising starvation and AIDS as cures for the population problem and for suggesting that the United States needs to preserve its culture and resources by preventing economic migrants from entering across its southern border. The group has now split - a 'no-fault divorce' - with one side more committed to social activism and to countering these misanthropic and rightwing views.

In Germany the 'realist' and the 'fundamentalist' factions of the Green Party have finally fallen out with each other and the 'fundis' have decided to leave the party. Now, says Janet Biehl they 'stand out only for the rapidity with which the old charade of careerism, party politics, and business-as-usual once again played itself out in their saga of compromise and betrayal of principle'. Die Grunen seem to be in hopeless disarray, with falling voter support.

The Green Party in Britain is full of problems too; here **Peter Cadogan** puts forward his own view of them and suggests a solution. Other proposals come from groupings like the socialist greens, 'Building a Green Culture' and the modernists/managerialists, 'Green 2000'; all reflecting deep differences of opinion.

'Greenline' magazine who eagerly cover the international green 'scene' seem to have changed their tune when faced with a left-wing pamphlet, 'Paradise Referred Back?', which casts a critical eye over the British green movement, and 'Greenline' itself.

The Green Party is important even if only a fifth of its 18,600 members are active. Handfuls of people can and do make history if they are at the right place at the right time with the right idea - and the energy, resources and imagination to turn it into action.

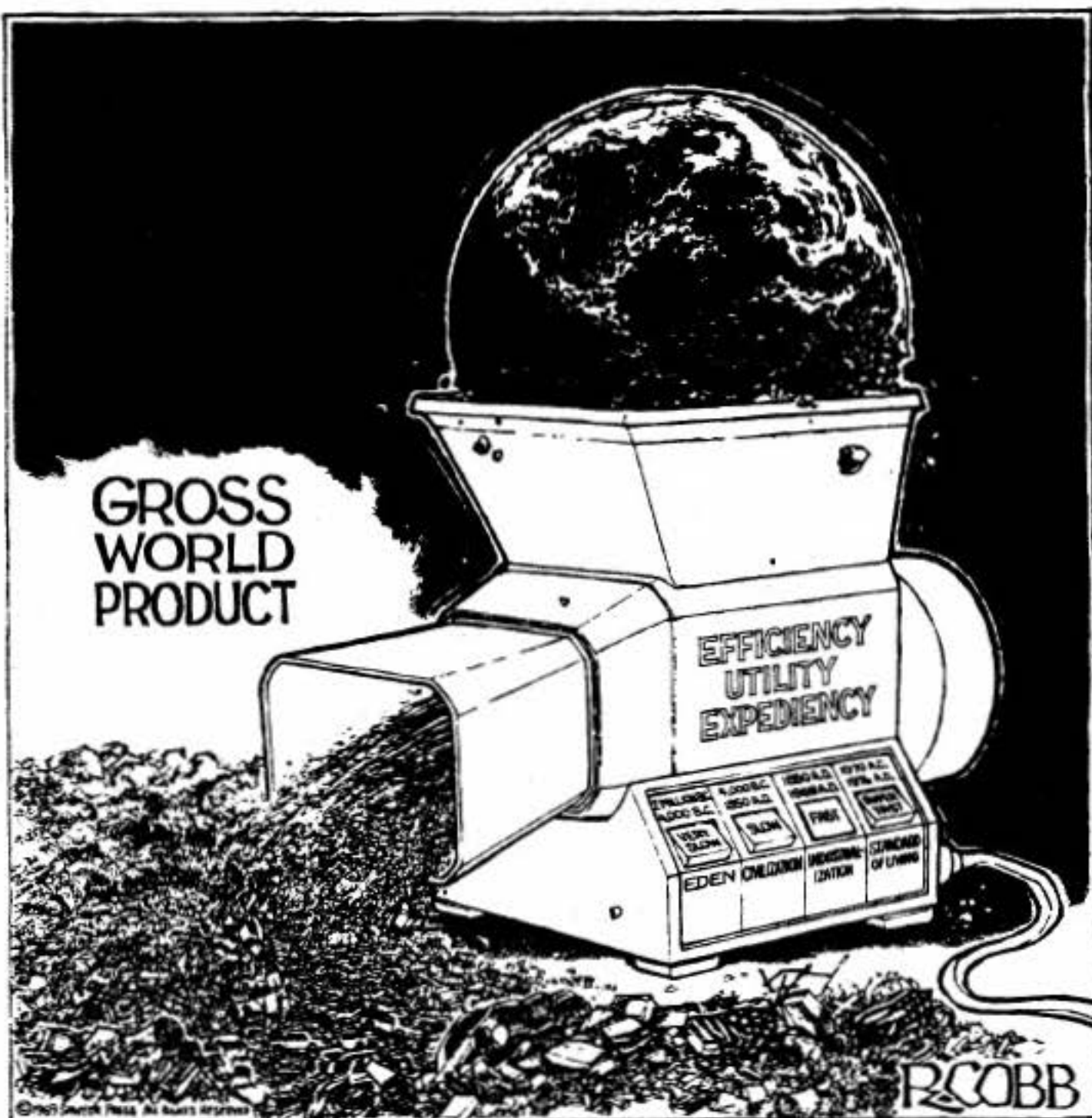
The national scene in the Green Party is internecine and its financial condition critical, but there is plenty of health and vitality locally. There will have to be drastic changes if political Greens are to turn out in strength against the destroyers of the planet, its peoples and its biosphere. The focal point of difference is surely this: Is the Party to be centralist i.e. based on General Elections, Westminster and Whitehall OR is it to be decentralist, based on grassroots activity, local, functional, area (i.e. regional), national and international?

But why fight over it? The two are different in kind and honest people are committed to one side or the other. So why not do both - but separately? - Years of bitter experience show no one organisation can contain both without endless discord and bitter or despairing resignations. The Ex-Green Party is already bigger than its parent.

Is not the reasonable thing to do for the party as such to carry on with its parliamentary objectives and decentralists or confederals to hive off and form their own confederal association? They can then work together, as friends, over things like District and E.C. Elections and wherever they naturally overlap? But the essential line will be drawn - THE CONFEDERALS WILL

BOYCOTT GENERAL ELECTIONS, on the grounds that the nation-state is on the way out and it is not for the Greens to prop it up by supporting centralised institutions like Westminster-based political parties. And since means are ends in embryo, we have to be as decentralised as the society we aim to create.

The split in the Party needs to be amicable. How it is to be done has to be worked out from within. There will be difficult questions about money and assets, but with goodwill they are all soluble. The end-product is the thing: two sets of Greens, in friendly fashion, but separately, using different means to attain green goals.



"Some will no doubt judge harshly any concern for 'animal rights', not to mention seemingly bizarre concerns like 'wilderness preservation' in a world in which HUMAN rights are so blatantly trampled upon - a world in which there is widespread malnutrition, poverty, illiteracy, brutal repression, torture, and the proliferation of weapons designed to annihilate billions of members of our own species. Yet the hostility and contempt which are directed against the partisans of 'nature' are badly misplaced. Any consciousness of the nature of domination in any of its forms can be a pathway to understanding the entire system. Respect and mutual aid are not scarce commodities to be carefully allocated. Fortunately, the more they are distributed, the more remains to be distributed."

John Clark, "The Anarchist Moment - Reflections on Culture, Nature and Power"

Permaculture is the art of creating ecologically healthy human settlements.



The word 'Permaculture' was coined by two Australians, Bill Mollison and David Holmgren with the 1978 publication of their book of the same name. The word means 'perennial culture' or 'permanent agriculture'. The book was an introduction to the concepts and origins of the two men's ideas and contained many practical examples of how to apply them.

Permaculture is more an attitude to the way we plan systems, than a set of rules. When we consider an element of a system, say a tree in a forest, we must think of all the needs, functions and products of that tree. When planning the planting of a tree in a forest, these are the questions we need to ask ourselves.

Can our forest provide the tree with all it's needs ? i.e. a good soil base, adequate water supply, shelter when young, insects to pollinate it and animals to germinate it. If not, we will have to provide them from outside the forest. This is wasteful of time and energy.

Can our forest make use of all the functions of the tree ? i.e. Will its soil enhancing and wind breaking qualities be utilised well ? Will its water retaining abilities be made use of ? Will it form a habitat for a variety of insects and animals ? If not, our tree is not fulfilling its potential.

Can our forest make use of the products of the tree ? i.e.: Will its fruits be eaten ? Will its fallen foliage be quickly turned into soil ? Will good use be made of its wood and bark ? If not, then at best we are being wasteful, and at worst we are polluting.

This complete integration of all the elements of a system is what permaculture is all about. The design and creation of systems such as this is the main occupation of today's permaculturists. Their speciality is human food production systems. The inspiration for these designs comes from observing nature. Balanced ecosystems are waste free living systems for the animals and plants that inhabit them. The creation of a permaculture is the creation of an ecosystem in which we are an integral part. One of the great beauties of permaculture systems is that once they are established, they are, to great extent self maintaining. This leaves those human stewards with a great deal of free time.

At many sites around Britain, people are putting all this into practice. Some designs are proving better than others, but a great deal of success has been claimed by all. Some groups are working on making their permacultures vegan. One group, 'Plants for a future' claim to be using 1200 different plants in their system, all naturally occurring in Britain. The membership of the British Permaculture association is small, but it is growing.

The permaculturists claim that the main cause of all our environmental catastrophes is the use of energy sources from outside of our biological system, i.e fossil fuels (solar energy is considered to be within the biological system). It has taken millions of years for the reserves of coal, oil and gas to be created. Our burning of them has released that huge store of energy back into the biological system. There are two main ways in which this has effected life on earth.

1) It has enabled us to create living systems which are separate from, and quite often in opposition to the forces of nature. It has fooled us into thinking that we do not need the rest of nature for our survival. It has spawned what Bill Mollison calls the philosophy of monoculture

2) Quite simply the sudden release of all this energy into the environment causes chaotic changes in atmospheric and marine flows.

These chaotic perturbations on their own are not necessarily catastrophic. They can be caused by phenomena well beyond our control i.e. earthquakes, solar flares etc. But when coupled with a planet surface completely transformed by monoculture, the consequences could well be catastrophic.

To put it simply, permaculturists are attempting to reintegrate human society with nature; to create model systems which function without the use of fossil fuels and without exploitation. They are fully aware that for permaculture to have any real affect on society, these systems must be made to appear more attractive than the commodity lifestyles of today's society. This is probably their greatest challenge.

In many ways the Permaculture movement fares favourably with many 'Utopian Projects' of the past. They share many of the same ideals. However the permaculturists have three factors going for them, that many of the others did not.

1) They have a greater understanding of nature.

2) They have not got that Luddite fear of technology. They prefer to weigh the costs and possible consequences of a technology against the advantages it brings. They refer to the catch phrase 'Appropriate Technology'.

3) In all their talk of self reliance and self sufficiency, there is no great desire for isolation. They wish to participate in society, but not be party to its evils. (Is this possible ?)

For those interested in pursuing permaculture further, I recommend getting hold of 'Permaculture I' and subscribing to 'Permaculture News'. You might also consider attending one of their courses, held at a variety of sites every summer. Try either of these addresses:

The Lees Stables, Coldstream, Berwickshire, TD12 2NN

or

The Permaculture Association, Box 500, Peace News, 8 Elm Ave., Nottingham

'GLADIO' AND THE EUROPEAN SECRET ARMIES

-How the 'clean war' against 'the Left' turns dirty-

Western Europe in the post-war period is viewed as a contrast to Eastern Europe. Where the East had a rigid and stagnant economy we in the West had prosperity. Where they had one-party states and repression we had democracy and freedom. Or did we? In both halves of Europe a foreign power was closely involved in determining the political choices a country's population could make. In both halves a foreign power was involved in forcibly removing governments it did not approve of. In both halves of Europe small elites were kept in power by the activities of their secret services. Recent disclosures by investigating magistrates in Italy have shown that in Western Europe the tactics used by these secret services included acts of indiscriminate terrorism.

The roots of this unlikely situation lie within the structure of our societies.

It is a natural consequence of our competitive commodity societies that companies have wished to protect their investments and position. Throughout history there are examples of the lengths to which they would go to do this. From the sacking of 'agitators' to the hiring of mobs to attack strike meetings, the history of industrial relations is one of preventing employees from having too much of a say in the way 'their' company is run. Companies in the Empire and today in the 'Third World' adopted more violent techniques - if the local host

government failed to provide 'security' against union-organisers.

Thatcher linked to bugging trial

THE PRIME MINISTER is linked to a trial which could shake the foundations of the British state. The trial, which is expected to begin in the autumn, is the first time a British Prime Minister has been accused of a crime. The trial is the result of a long and complex investigation into the activities of the British secret services. The trial is expected to be a landmark case in the history of British democracy.



Assumptions about boundaries between the state and companies are now being questioned.

In Britain we feel ourselves to be free from these more dubious and violent activities, protected by the state from over-zealous businesses. However, much more information is becoming available about the way in which companies today are involved in exactly these activities. They finance groups which carry out a variety of functions in a campaign to destroy challenges to

the present socio-economic order. Some of these groups have long historical, and very right-wing, pedigrees. Amongst them are industrial intelligence gathering organisations such as the Economic League or the less well known I.R.I.S. (Industrial Research and Information Services), and groups who have a more general anti-'left' role such as the Freedom Association and Aims of Industry. MI5 (and indeed the CIA) have often been the brains behind the setting up of these.

In Britain this has been a relatively 'clean' war. The techniques of infiltration, blackmail, smears and general mischief-making should have been obvious to the anti-establishment groups that were their

victims: Militant, Trade Unions, Labour Party, the peace-movement, animal rights groups and now it seems the Green movement (see the article by the Economic League, p.27). The fact that the 'clean war' has been so successful says less about the ingenuity and skill of the state but more about the naivete of the groups which were targeted.

What then if people begin to demand democracy from their 'democracy' and the 'clean war' is no longer enough to contain popular aspirations? Recently evidence has come to light that 'the Establishment' will revert to the tactics of 'dirty' war should the 'clean' war and 'democracy' fail to serve their purposes. The parallel with Latin America is NOT accidental.

The Search for Europe's Secret Armies.

Like most things about post-war Europe we must start around the conference table at Yalta, in the dying moments of the Second World War. Here the world was divided between the victorious powers: the United States and the Soviet Union. The Americans 'took' what they had agreed was 'theirs'; this included most of the non-Russian world. The US attempted to

polarise international affairs: any country which refused to be part of the Pax-Americana, was portrayed to the public as part of a 'communist conspiracy' and thus the target of well-placed American hatred. Few anti-American governments survive for long in the global power plays of the American state. In this war against governments which are not pro-American the US used all the techniques at its disposal.

The cold war was to be a very 'dirty war', but not against the external enemy the propaganda would have us believe.

Europe became part of what was labelled by the U.S. National Security Council as the "Grand area". Countries bordering 'communist' states were viewed as "bulwarks against communism". However this strategic thinking and heroic phraseology had a much less glamorous sub-text. After profiting immensely from the war the US had emerged as the world's strongest economy. But the US could only benefit from this position if it had access to world markets. Without this the US economy would have returned to the rut of the inter-war 'isolationist' years (not forgetting US colonial wars in 'their' hemisphere). But access to Europe and the justification for a world empire required more than just promises of American benevolence. Thus they went about

creating the idea of a 'Soviet Threat'. This was quite easy to do in a Europe still unorganised and 'defenceless' after the war. More centralised control was established over covert operations with the setting up of the CIA in 1947: this eventually took control over the operations and personnel of the more military Office of Policy Co-ordination which had absorbed the wartime Office of Strategic Services. The CIA set up research institutes, funded right-wing students doing PhDs and increased its hold over the press and emerging TV media. By using a mixture of economic/military aid, and psychological pressure - Berlin blockade & Korean war - they subtly associated freedom from the external enemy and economic growth, with easy American access to European markets.

Over a relatively short period they managed to extend this to include 'keeping the market open' and this meant a close involvement on the politico-military level.

The 'Soviet Threat' was to be a brilliant tool in the real war being fought against anti-capitalist groups around the world. Anti-Establishment and anti-capitalist groups were portrayed as working for the Soviet Union. By polarising political choices into caricatures of opposing social systems it was possible to attack these challenges to the social order by declaring them to be 'communist' and thus aiding a foreign power. The McCarthyism of 50's America was to be mirrored in Europe.

There were those in Europe who had a good idea of the American's intentions. Contacts between French and German thinkers both during and after the war created a common ideological thread which linked the emerging European Christian Democratic movements. Ostensibly Christian, these people were hostile to the attempt by the US to hijack Europe. They saw this as another example of American economic opportunism in Europe, and viewed the East more in terms of being trading partners.

However the Christian Democrats realised that they required American help in eliminating the powerful Left which was emerging after the war. They therefore allowed the Americans and British to experiment with their hobby horse of building up a Soviet threat to justify the repression necessary to attack the Left. Soon the war-time ally was demonised into a 'Bear' expanding by military force.

At some point however the Europeans lost control of what was happening and found themselves linked into an American run military machine. The Atlantic Alliance was a brilliant piece of U.S. Imperialism. They appealed to those most vulnerable to fear of the 'Soviet Threat' -

the military and intelligence services and top industrialists. Major influence was exerted behind the scenes, even behind the backs of the elected governments.

A left-leaning European public began to be effected by this propaganda, and clamoured for American involvement in their affairs. The US covenant in Europe was sealed with the signing of the NATO treaty in early 1949. The Soviets panicked, took over complete control of Eastern Europe and several years later formed the Warsaw pact in response, ensuring the division of Europe for the next 40 years. An outcome the US must have cheered.

Thus the Americans understood that the Soviet Union was, in the late 1940's, not a military threat. It was certainly not an ideological threat as Stalinism brutalised the Union's people. But an opportunity to discredit the then very powerful independent Left and be a part of Europe was opened up by playing upon Europe's fears, fears the US itself had played a great role in creating.

Rebuilding the 'war' machine.

The American public demanded the army come home immediately. However, they withdrew from continental Europe so quickly that the Europeans clamoured for help in rebuilding

their own armies to prevent any leftist uprisings. As part of this effort the Americans and British helped to recreate the internal security machines of most European countries. The most willing and experienced people they found were ex-Nazis, Fascists and collaborators. Highly trained and fervent anti-communists, these were the people who would use the brutality which it was necessary to deploy against the left. The only problem was in redirecting their loyalties away from the nationalism of the war years and towards the new Atlanticist coalition. In other words they were attempting to train the storm troopers of a pro-American Europe - even if these people were never really aware of their role. These forces would ensure that the pact made between Europe and America would be reciprocated by the individual European governments. The Americans had in effect planted an intelligence network into the heart of the European countries to ensure the 'deal' was kept. These forces would ensure that attempts to renege on the deal would be militarily challenged.

The Secret 'Resistance' Network

In the late 40's the British and Americans co-operated in a 'fight against communism' in Greece during its post-war civil war. Here a popular rebellion was being destroyed by the direct military involvement of the emerging Atlantic Alliance. They made sure that the 'Left' never again had popular support in Greece: by murdering most of that support. This was their first joint experience of direct involvement in keeping a favoured elite (pro-American and pro-capitalist) in power despite popular opposition.

Following the Greek experience, it was realised that direct military involvement in destroying socialist governments was not necessary. If domestic elites were backed by weapons and forces which were not under their governments control then secret operations could more easily

be carried out against socialists.

A successful low-level war supported covertly by NATO would preclude the need for direct military intervention; the last resort should a socialist government come to power.

'Stay Behind'

A network called 'Stay Behind' was set up all over Europe by the British and Americans whilst they were training the 'new' security services. Few people knew of this secondary work which they were doing. They involved some security service personnel but most of the members of 'Stay Behind' were to be civilian. They tended to recruit personnel of obvious loyalty to the anti-communist cause, and thus civilian European



"...an opportunity... was opened up by playing upon Europe's fears; fears the US itself had played a great role in creating."

'Gladio' And The Euro -

ex-Fascists were also brought into the CIA web. Funding was to be covert, from a mixture of sources, initially the British and Americans but replaced by company donations and secret state financing. The US National Security Council set up the Office of Policy Co-ordination specifically to supervise NATO control of this emerging network of European extra-state armed groups (June 1948).

NATO coordinated its control over the various domestic 'Operation Stay Behind' groups via the "Clandestine Coordinating Committee" directly from SHAPE HQ near Mons in Belgium. In all likelihood it was run under the name of a legitimate 'front' organisation (see later). The most recent meeting was in October 1990 according to the Belgian Defence Minister.

It seems to us that 'Stay Behind' was a network used by the European Establishment to maintain its power. NATO and the CIA supplied materials and intelligence, and this was reciprocated as part of the pro-American deal.

Those involved in setting up 'Stay Behind' groups believed that they were part of a network to fight off a Soviet invasion force. This perception was part of the huge CIA information war. Intelligence reports actually indicated that the Soviets were disbanding large parts of their army and withdrawing from Eastern Europe after suffering massive economic damage during the war. Stalin never actually went beyond what he was entitled to do under the terms of the Yalta deal. However a small clique of the US National Security Council, George Kennan, and other National Security Advisors and their European counterparts manipulated a situation until most of those people carrying out the repression actually believed that the Russians were about to invade and could therefore justify their activities. It is now admitted by senior Presidential advisors that the thinking 'at the top' prior to the spring '47 'aid' to Greece was at variance to hysterical "Russian threat" speeches.

By using a false "Soviet Threat" to ensure elites kept power everyone 'important' got what they wanted; the European people were given nothing - bar repression.

The use of this technique is world wide, as US author Noam Chomsky is particularly good at cataloguing.

What I am writing is NOT a 'conspiracy theory'. Those directly responsible for the situation were elites, and their political/military servants, fearful of their 'own' populations; but it was built on more widely based anxieties. The image of a Soviet 'Bear' was, in so many ways, an externalisation of deep fears. The picture on page 2 is quite literally a visualisation of these egoic fears. (More on this in later issues).

The Cover Story.

Most governments which came to power in Europe were given a believable cover story that a secret 'resistance' movement of 'Stay Behind' forces was in existence:

Composed of civilians who in time of invasion would rally around themselves armies of friends and family... they would spring to the defence of the home-land as the evil Russian tanks rolled into their village. After digging up the local arms cache they would attack the tanks with small arms and explosives...

We know that in Britain Labour governments have tended to be in total awe of the security services; perhaps they were willing to believe anything rather than stir up trouble with people they could ill-afford to cross by 'digging' deeper into 'Stay Behind'. But the existence of neo-fascist armed groups should have prompted them to act. The consequences are shown later. Recently virtually all European governments have admitted that 'Stay Behind' forces exist. They have been at pains to stress the official line. Some governments played down its military role. In France the Defence minister claimed its role was to communicate "with a government that might have fled abroad" post-invasion. In Germany it was to "secure the flow of intelligence information (after Soviet attack)". NATO has tried to deflect criticism that it is linked to fascist terrorism by

suggesting that fascists in one country or another stole arms from the hides and went out on unofficial campaigns. Perhaps...

The 'real role' of 'Stay Behind' ('secondary' as Norton-Taylor's sources described it. Guardian 15/11/90) was to prevent the left from coming to power in Europe. On this the US and pan-Europeanists were agreed. Who controlled the network was academic compared to this important task. The external threat was only an abstract concept designed for public consumption and when it began to lose its utility it was quickly replaced by another threat.

The external 'Soviet Threat' served its purpose in the late 40's and 50's, but after it was relaxed in the 60's and social control 'needed' to be re-established it metamorphosed into the 'internal threat' - terrorism. **Post-1968 western populations were subjected to a period of violent counter-revolution.**

In post-war history there has been a continuation of old techniques. This can be traced back to the 19th century, for example; anarchist bombers were used to justify repressive measures. The ability to adapt the threat according to the circumstances means that it is 'safe' to expose the response to the old threat as an 'overreaction'. Thus the media is pointing out a fragmented version of a consistent history. The idea that 'Stay Behind' was a **misplaced reaction** to fear of the Soviet Union is stressed in the media. Recent exposures, therefore, fail to challenge the state's legitimacy because it has **moved on** from using this particular justification for its repressive activities.

The Italian experience of 'dirty war' - 'Gladio'.

"In some ways she was more acute than Wilson and far less susceptible to Party propaganda. Once when he happened in some connection to mention the war... she startled him by saying casually that in her opinion the war was not happening. The rocket bombs which fell daily on London were probably fired by the government itself, 'just to keep people frightened'. This was an idea that had literally never occurred to him."

Orwell "1984"

"Any secret service can invent 'revolutionary' initials for itself and undertake a certain number of outrages, which the press will give good publicity to... In the case of the small terrorist group spontaneously formed, there is nothing in the world easier for the detached corps of the state than to infiltrate it... [and control it]." Sanguinetti "On Terrorism"

**...the
"pro-Soviet"
label
branded
onto
progressive
movements
was
exchanged
for a
"pro-terrorist"
one.**

When a country is in a state of emergency the government is easily able to increase its powers. A rash of terrorism which induces a "climate of fear" may cause just such a emergency. The state can exaggerate the extent of this terrorism, and other 'threats', to legitimate unwarranted increases in its power. Given the choice between any type of stability the government might offer and the chaos the terrorists seem to promise, people will naturally chose stability. Feeling the need for 'protection' people will accept many curtailments of their civil rights. Progressive movements can then be repressed, whilst racist, anti-gay etc. attacks can increase. With this opportunity strikes are banned, prevention of terrorism legislation introduced, and the whole array of other emergency 'legal' apparatus introduced; random arrests; detention without trial; 'suspension' of trial by jury; internment...or concentration camps. This is the 'Cold War' technique using an internal rather than external 'threat'; the "pro-Soviet" slur on progressive movements was exchanged for a "pro-terrorist" one.

The temptation for the Establishment to begin this cycle when it feels threatened by change must be immense. In Italy this temptation was too strong; NATO's secret 'Stay Behind' army codenamed "Operation Gladio" (after the short double-edged sword that Gladiators used to dispatch their victims) began to carry out the atrocities necessary to spread fear and hysteria throughout society.

Italy was not the aberration that the media presumes, simply

the place where investigators have tried hardest to uncover this hidden 'strategy of tension'. In Italy the progressives were actually near to changing Italian society and thus the strategy took a fuller course. The investigative media in Britain is so weak that we may all be forgiven for having heard so little about 'Stay Behind'.

Across Europe, NATO had been very successful in ensuring that non-socialist, pro-American governments came to power. The Christian Democratic parties virtually swept the electoral board. This was achieved by a massive American campaign to destroy the credibility of left-wing candidates. Despite the initial likelihood that the left was going to win power in most of the major European countries they failed to win one - bar Britain (see later). In Italy the US operation managed to prevent the initial election favourites, the Communist Party (P.C.I.) winning, by using the techniques of massive funding for the campaign of the Right, media smears of the leftist candidates, and other mischief-making. The Christian Democrats (D.C.) spent years clinging to power via ever more shaky coalitions with the other (all tiny) parties. Despite the lack of economic and social direction this caused they could be satisfied that they had successfully kept the PCI from power. Perhaps some were aware that if they failed to hold onto power electorally, powerful forces would oust the PCI militarily; probably causing a civil war.

In the late 1960s there was a marked increase in social and economic dissatisfaction. The disparity in wealth between the rich north and the poor south was becoming ever more difficult to ignore; the Communist party (P.C.I.) was becoming more and more frustrated at being kept from power; and a new and difficult to control anti-capitalist, but not Marxist, 'movement' was growing in popularity.

The Italian Right began to feel increasingly uncomfortable with the direction that democratic politics was leading. Soon it was no longer going to be possible to keep the P.C.I. out of government. Even worse there seemed to be a shift to the 'left' in the ruling Christian Democratic party (D.C.), personified in the popular ex-President Aldo Moro.

In 1963 the D.C. was forced to enter into a coalition with the small Socialist party (PSI) to form a government. Some on the Right were worried about where this was going to lead. Italy's 'Stay Behind' Gladio began to interfere in domestic politics for the first time in the 1964 "plan Solo" coup attempt. The Establishment began to get together members who might form a government for 'public safety'. The coup was called off, and the plan leaked. The leaks included lists of thousands who were to be rounded up after the coup; they included politicians, trade unionists, and priests.

Following the riots and Paris '68-style occupations of 1969 the Right began to plot more seriously. The next coup attempt was in 1970, led by Prince Valerio Borghese, a fascist navy commander. The plotters mysteriously aborted the attempt at the last minute, but Borghese spoke at his trial of "...a top secret organisation, known to the top authorities of the state...that is involved in activities which have nothing to do with intelligence gathering". One of those acquitted now proudly claims membership of "Operation Gladio".

Gladio embarked on a reign of terror and went about creating a state of siege which would soften public opinion to the idea of an alternative government taking power by force.

In this period of terror the rightwing Establishment created a parallel government: P2 (Propaganda Duo). P2 was a neo-fascist Masonic lodge; it was composed of most of the top military officers, political leaders, industrialists, bankers, and diplomats in Italy. It represented the real power in Italian society. It succeeded in shaping Italian politics along lines which would enable it to take power by provoking a state of emergency. P2 was waiting in the wings until the public could be convinced that P2 was the only way to restore order: its own idea of 'order'. It had 'close connections' with the CIA and carried out several missions for them, including drug smuggling and assassinations. Domestically P2 gave the orders

and co-ordinated a campaign of terrorist outrages. Sanguinetti explains...

"They had decided to do a massacre amongst the population, and they prepared it with two general rehearsals: the bomb of April 25th 1969 at the Fair and the bank at Milan station, and the bombs in the trains in August of the same year. The secret services thus prepared public opinion with these 'backgrounds', and prepared themselves technically."

No-one was killed in these incidents... but the bomb at the Piazza Fontana which followed was up, till then, Italy's worst

***Moro said,
before he was
murdered, that
he feared:-
"... a shadow
organisation,
alongside the
other secret
services of the
West [which] ...
might be
implicated in
the destruction
of our country."***

'outrage'. Murders and bombings continued throughout the early 70's. The investigation into the Fontana bomb was a complete cover up, witnesses committed suicide or had fatal accidents. Some fascists were eventually sentenced, but the trial was reopened years after as new evidence linking the state to the massacre emerged. A magistrate who was gathering evidence for the re-trial was murdered hours after talking to the ex-head of the, now renamed, S.I.D. (Defence Intelligence Service). In 1973 some 'fascists', murdered 3 Carabinieri (police) for no 'apparent' reason.

By now some members of the left had resorted to the bomb to protect themselves. Their ideology called for the use of terror tactics to force the state to show it's real fascist nature thus provoking the "workers" to rise up and overthrow it. What they failed to realise was that the State was also trying to create exactly **these same conditions** so as to justify the suppression of the left. The Red Brigades played directly into the hands of Gladio. They were blamed for Gladio murders, and soon infiltrated by the secret services who encouraged them and 'enabled' them to carry out some of the outrages P2 required.

Civil rights in Italy began to be severely curtailed. The introduction of the "Reale Law" in 1975 limited the scope for popular campaigning and radical political theorising. Many were locked up under draconian anti-terrorist legislation, some were even expelled from the country (for example the dissident intellectual, Toni Negri). Attacks on 'minorities' increased.

P2 was working on a long timescale. As the body count rose so did the ambitions of its military arm, Gladio. In April 1977 they staged a kidnapping, and a bomb in the Ministry of the Interior (Cossiga, now president, was the Minister), both bloodless. But the kidnapping of ex-President Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades set Italy alight. The Red Brigades were by now virtually arms of P2, although completely unaware of it. They could not have picked a target which would more ensure P2's success. Moro represented the only hope of bringing together the moderate right and the PCI and thus was an enemy of the extreme right. His name had appeared on an assassination list of the 1964 coup attempt. Not surprisingly the Right-controlled government refused to negotiate for his release and he was then murdered. But P2 still did not move, and the notorious bombing of Bologna (a PCI stronghold) railway station, led to the exposure of much of the conspiracy. Quite simply Gladio and P2 had gone too far. The CIA hastily arranged for P2's Grandmaster, Lucio Gelli, to escape to Argentina.

Total deaths from 'unexplained' bombs stood at 143.

Gelli was later arrested for his part in the Bologna bombing. Last August he and 13 others including neo-fascists and secret service people had their sentences overturned.

Recently published evidence suggests that Moro was only too aware of the involvement of both NATO and the CIA in an Italian-based secret service parallel army. He even warned his kidnappers to "Beware of Andreotti. He's too close to NATO." Andreotti, the Prime Minister, has just formed a new government in the wake of the scandal which is now rocking Italy.

The elites remain ready to dissolve the present state and replace it with something more 'useful' if need be. According to Brennecke P2 is now called P7.

The CIA, NATO and the European 'Intelligence' services are thus connected with an armed network which was responsible

'Gladio' and the Euro-

for Europe-wide terrorism, coups and counter-coups.

The extent of NATO involvement in various left-wing terrorist groups which destabilised governments in France (Action Directe), Spain (Grupos de Resistencia Antifascistas Primero de Octubre - GRAPO), Belgium (Cellules Communistes Combattantes - CCC) not to say involvement with their neo-fascist counterparts who have partaken in a similar number of attacks (see Lobster No.18) will be determined in the coming months - we hope. So far some evidence is available on the following:-

In Greece prior to the April 1967 "Colonels coup" the tactics of 'state of emergency' creation were applied to good effect. Thus "terrorist bombings, provocations launched under 'leftist' cover, action psychologique etc." were used (Lobster 18). Norton-Taylor in the Guardian claims that officers from the "Operation Sheepshead" 'Stay Behind' net were involved in the coup (Guardian 5/12/91).

Ex-CIA operative Brenneke has detailed how the CIA set up the killing of Swedish Premier Olaf Palme. Palme was involved in the "October surprise" deal between the CIA and Iran (see Americas Censored News p13) and had become "...a fly in the ointment so we got P2 to rub him out." (Times 24/7/90).

"The Swedish government created in 1958 a fullfledged network known only to the Prime Minister and a few selected cabinet ministers, military leaders and industrialists." (Reuters 18/12/90)

The Belgian 'Stay Behind', SDRA-8, is now being linked with terror tactics and coup attempts. Belgian policemen and well known right-wingers were arrested (all later released) for the spate of unsolved supermarket killings which terrorised Brussels in the early 80's. A former gendarme, who fled to the US, has spoken of a coup planned by police and extreme right-wing groups in 1973.

In Germany terrorist attacks by both left and right-wing groups in the 70's led to widespread repression, new police powers, and a ban on those 'closely associated' with radicals from public service (1972, Berufsverbote).

In Turkey a wave of terrorism in the 1970's allowed the military to step in and out of power and repress the Left. A state-connected organisation known as 'kontrgerilla' has been linked to the terror. The Communist party is still illegal.

In Holland the Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers has claimed that his part of the 'Stay Behind' network did not engage in the more "guerrilla-like activities" of their counterparts.

In Spain the Socialist Government denies the existence of a 'Stay Behind' net. But evidence of 'state' assassinations by right-wing security service personnel has recently been exposed by the "GAL" scandal.

As yet the British connection is still a secret... or is it?

Britain already had weapons caches and guerrilla forces when, after the fall of France, we set up a home defence network. There are parallels between the experience and in Northern Ireland. The whole array of 'dirty' and 'dirty war' have been operation there for 20 years, (and more). Colin Wallace has his life and spent years in prison of his determination to expose what and saw whilst working for the Army's 'information policy' department (psy-ops) in Northern Ireland.



His job was to write black propaganda through which he heard of army assassination squads, the use of loyalist death squads, and of plots in Britain to bring down an elected Government.

OBSERVER

Wilson plot secrets revealed



The 'success' of army operations in Ireland lent hope (and experience) to Britain's own coup plotters.

The election in February 1974 was, for the right-wing Establishment-

the Tory Party; the armed forces; many industrialists & bankers; and Britain's own 'Stay Behind' - the culmination of a bad decade. The miners had won, and the forces of "red fascism", as M.P. Biggs-Davidson called them, were advancing towards Whitehall. The economy was in a state of collapse as inflation rose and the trade unions seemed to be flexing their muscles in defiance. The Tory party was being led by a left-leaning weakling who had lost the election to a man they saw as an extreme leftist, and some on the far right even believed was a KGB agent. **These are the key preconditions for activating the secret armies - fear that the traditional tactics have failed, and loss of faith in the party which is supposed to be protecting you from the population's demands to have a say.**

The CIA's and MI5's propaganda network was already working to smear the Labour party and encourage dissatisfaction amongst the Right and wider population. The domestic 'clean war' organisations became active in whipping up anti-Labour hysteria, that is; were active in creating the conditions necessary for a 'dirty war' to begin. The CBI was urged by its Deputy Director to increase its funding to the right-wing groups such as the Economic League, I.R.I.S., Common Cause, Aims of industry and the CIA's Institute for the Study of Conflict.

These organisations put out information on communist 'threats' to the British State, for example in lectures to the armed forces and the police. There were attempts to encourage Northern Ireland-style co-operation between the two services on the main land, e.g. at the Heathrow Airport anti-terrorist exercises. The army openly defied Wilson's order to stop the Ulster Workers Council (Protestant) strike in May 1974.

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CIA 'information' provision to 'brief' the media and intellectuals.

The non-tabloid press was now full of coup speculation. Much of this was later confirmed, for example in Lord Carver's (Field Marshal in '74) lecture to the Cambridge Union (4/3/80) and by Robert, "spycatcher-catcher", Armstrong's reminiscing of "...talking wildly about coups and coalitions... moving Red Army from here and the Blue army from there."

As the veneer of British 'democracy' began to fade the time was 'Right' for... 'Stay Behind'.

As has been shown, 'Stay Behind' was a network of civilian/ex-army etc. guerrilla leaders. Each was to recruit loyal forces. This basically means private armies of extreme right-wingers. The guerrilla commanders stood up and gathered around them those whom they trusted to fight the 'dirty war'. They may even have begun to dig up the hidden 'Stay Behind' arms caches in preparation.

Two received a lot of press coverage, however, this doesn't prove they actually existed, but...

General Sir Walter Walker, Ross McWhirter and MI6 agent George Kennedy Young set up "Unison", a secret army. Walker later left to form "Civil Assistance" (or changed

Unison's name) in mid-74. Founder of the SAS, David Sterling, planned GB75 ('leaked' to the Guardian in



August 74). A group of Right wing Tory MPs including the late Airey Neave also proposed a civilian volunteer force to help the "maintenance of public order".

The appearance of 'Stay Behind' groups points to the existence of a co-ordinating committee or even a parallel government, like P2.

Chapman Pincher in the Daily Express (18/7/77) first brought the name "Resistance and Psychological Operation's Committee" (RPOC) to public notice. It was a covert group hidden inside the government funded Reserve Forces Association (RFA). Formed in 1970 the RFA was a pressure group "for reservists". It has 214 individual and 90 corporate members. In 1971 it took control of 'Stay behind'. The RFA was part of a wider NATO supported "Confederation Inter-Allies des Officiers de Reserve". Perhaps a cover for the NATO "Clandestine Coordinating Committee"? Anyway, hidden inside the RFA, the RPOC was given access to MOD departments such as the Combined Operations Executive and the Joint Warfare Establishment near Salisbury! It was also close to the MI6 (black propaganda) Information Research Department.

Walker talked of getting "practical assistance" with Civil Assistance from Marshall of the R.A.F. Sir John Slessor who was part of... RPOC. There were people in RPOC who would have been originally involved in setting up 'Stay Behind', such as war-time SOE head Colin Gubbins. Helping Walker was probably just one part of a much wider 'Stay Behind' coordination operation. Unfortunately there is, as yet, no

evidence to prove this. Nor is there evidence to suggest that the RFA was becoming some kind of P2 parallel government. The rumour that a government had been formed to take over once the Labour cabinet had been removed to the 'safety' of a Cunard liner (Operation Cunard '75) in the North Sea is... to be confirmed.

It seems that '74, although a period of racist revival and NF activities, was not the time for a coup. Walker disbanded Civil Assistance in '76, after a "lack of active support". GB75 only 'existed' until the October '74 election. The Labour Government closed RPOC in 1976.

Perhaps the British elites are just not capable of the right-wing fanaticism of the Italians...I doubt it. Not enough people could be convinced that there really was a crisis requiring a coup. 'Stay Behind' never embarked on a terror campaign and the IRA outrages such as the Pub bombings could not justify the internal state of siege necessary. The strategy never needed to provoke a state of emergency in Britain as the extreme right of the Tory Party was manoeuvred into power: Keith Joseph and Margaret Thatcher stepped into the shoes of the 'weak' Heath to solve the 'problem'. The economic chaos of the late '70's, including the IMF loan had so discredited the Labour party that the Tories were confident of winning the next election.

The idea that a coup was possible had now been implanted into the minds of the Right. A P2 style parallel government could have been created at some point, and possibly stood by in case the Tories lost the '79 election. Airey Neave talked about an "army of resistance" prior to this election...

CONCLUSION

The way Establishment industrialist groups like the international Trilateral Commission see it: *"Some of the problems of governance... today stem from an excess of democracy... the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement."*

'Democracy', to the Trilateral business consensus, is just a useful public-relations tool. However when it fails to live up to their expectations it becomes expedient to subvert democracy in the name of 'order'. As with Gladio, frightened elites will terrorise a society into a state of emergency through which they believe they can reassert their control. Lord Denning demonstrated the expediency of this deceitful ploy when 'illegally' expelling Philip Agee from Britain (see his article). Denning said in justification: *"Our history shows that when the state itself is in danger our cherished freedoms may have to take second place. Even natural justice may suffer a setback."*

Denning need not worry for the moment, as there is little "danger" of the state being threatened by demands for openness, accountability and popular participation in the decisions which shape our lives. All the main political parties in Europe are now explicitly Atlanticists. As long as they support the small elite of international business behind Atlanticism they will be 'allowed' power. This is a mirror-image of politics in America, and not by coincidence.

One lesson to be learned from our research is that we should always be aware that terrorist groups, regardless of their professed goals, are unwittingly used by the Establishment (companies+state) for ends that are detrimental to the freedom of every one of us. This is presuming that the groups weren't created by the state in the first place - as with Gladio.

The idea that the state is an impartial arbiter between divergent political views should be questioned in the light of this work. In fact the state and its protectors, the secret services and army, are highly politically motivated organisations.

This issue of "Open Eye" is an introduction to the idea of 'hidden history', so we have not concentrated on the complex psychological factors involved - because of this the articles tend to suggest some kind of secret 'conspiracy'. This is however not what we intend. In the next issue we shall discuss the psychology and suggest that 'history denial' is a mass phenomena. I will also suggest that cycles of repression are not oneway; that the population actually approves or 'needs' them.

References (send SAE for detailed references):

Statewatch - "Background Document File No. 0391. Gladio" which is a compilation of all relevant press cuttings on 'Stay Behind'.
Lobster No. 11, "Wilson, MI5 and the rise of Thatcher" in particular; all other issues relevant.
Gianfranco Sanguinetti "On Terrorism And The State: The Theory And Practice Of Terrorism Divulged For The First Time."

Review of "By Way Of Deception" by ex-Mossad agent Victor Ostrovsky.

Ostrovsky's book fits nicely alongside other exposés by ex-employees of other so-called 'intelligence services'. After asking too many questions and stepping on too many toes Ostrovsky fled to Canada with his wife and children in order to avoid the certain death which awaited him after his 'reassignment' when no longer trusted.

His book is divided roughly into two. He gives a detailed account of his training and then recites a series of 'Operations' he has knowledge of. Ostrovsky describes the farcical, often sadistic, nature of training 'Katsa's', as Mossad case officers are called. Ostrovsky details the corruption, sexual peccadilloes, and self-serving nature of the service:

"...I'd thought I was entering Israel's Olympus - but actually found myself in Sodom and Gomorrah".

This is basically what holds the service together: agents trained for years in using the techniques of conning and debasing a target - playing on their weaknesses so that they do immoral or illegal things - find themselves tied to the Mossad by a similar technique. Ostrovsky's fault was that he did not succumb to the cheating and lying, the backhanders and corruption.

Of particular interest are:

- Mossad scuppering of negotiation opportunities with the P.L.O.
- Mossad involvement in the international drugs trade running through Panama.
- Its involvements in the Shatila massacre, the death of CIA station chief William Buckley and the bombing of US troops in Beirut etc.
- Domestic operations, such as bringing down Yitzhak Rabin's Labour government in 1977.
- Details about 'Kidon' assassination units.
- 'Frames' - the Jewish 'self-protection' groups existing around the world.
- 'Al' the ultra secret unit operating inside America,



Bush and the waging of a 'Third World' War.

(continued from page 3)

propaganda into Cuba. "I believed that the orchestration against Cuba would continue and eventually, perhaps in 1992, justify a blunt military confrontation," says Stockwell.

"Something on the order of Grenada or Panama would not do because of the size of the economic problems and scandals the Bush administration was facing. Something closer to the challenge of Vietnam was needed, but of course they wanted a defeatable challenger.

"Cuba seemed to fit; it would be a tough opponent, and the losses would be substantial, but the island could be submitted to a total naval blockade and crushed within a few months by an all-out US effort: Iraqi President Saddam Hussein gave President Bush an early Christmas present and let Cuba off the hook, at least temporarily.

"With the Iraqi invasion and conquest of Kuwait, Bush was handed his much-needed war on a silver platter. Hussein, columnists have noted, was surprised by Bush's reaction. But the US war fever was predictable.

"At this point even an all-out war would be in Bush's political interests, presuming the USA could win."

Stockwell is fond of quoting President Theodore Roosevelt's comment to a friend in 1897: "In strict confidence — I should welcome almost any war, for I think this country needs one." He points out that the US has put its troops into foreign countries on average once a year throughout its history, and fought a major war every 15 years.

Having spent at least \$2.5 trillion on arms in the 1980s, the US national debt has now passed \$4 trillion and is rising at the rate of more than \$1 billion a day. This, argues Stockwell, fuels his nation's continuing need for war. As an ex-CIA man he points to the agency's operations in Korea which preceded and arguably provoked the war there, its role in the Tonkin Gulf incident which engineered the start of the Vietnam War, and asks about its more recent role in the Gulf.

"Through Kuwait the CIA has been destabilising Iraq. During the Iran/Iraq war of the 1980s Kuwait advanced its border further north and seized valuable Iraqi oil reserves. By manipulating oil prices, Kuwait cost Iraq billions of dollars in revenues. Meanwhile, on the eve of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the US ambassador gave Saddam Hussein what seemed to be tacit reassurance that the US would not respond," claims Stockwell.

The latter is a reference to the "green light" incident—the taped conversation between Saddam and April Glaspie in which she repeatedly said: "The Secretary of State has told me to emphasise that we have no defence agreement with Kuwait." It has since been established that in November 1989 the CIA director visited his intelligence counterparts in Kuwait at a time when the disputed Rumaila oil fields were being tapped into.

Whether or not this is tantamount to luring Iraq into a trap, Stockwell insists "Neither Iraq's invasion of Kuwait nor Hussein's

evil" ways would have been adequate justification for expensive military action unless the US had its own imperatives (his emphasis).

"George Bush called the invasion 'naked aggression', but Hussein had better historical rationales and objectives in Kuwait—and greater provocation—than Bush did in his own invasion of Panama seven months earlier. And the US deals with brutal killers all across the globe not the least of which is the leadership of Syria."

Stockwell comes from a conservative Texas background and his father, a chemical engineer, on release from defence work after the Second World War, took his family to the Congo to help Presbyterian missionaries build a hydroelectric plant for



a hospital. After serving three years in the Marines, Stockwell, a captain in the reserves who voted for Barry Goldwater in the 1964 elections, was tapped by the CIA.

He spent six years back in Africa for the agency, and three years in murky operations back in the US which wrecked his marriage. Serious doubts had crept in but he accepted a posting to Vietnam and was among the last to leave in the humiliating pull-out which abandoned 90% of the CIA local contacts to their fate.

Back in the US he was appointed to head the CIA's covert war in Angola, an enterprise which was to complete his disillusion. He resigned, gave evidence to secret Congressional hearings, and wrote *In Search of Enemies* — for which the CIA went to court to seize his profits.

In his latest work, which had to be cleared by a CIA panel, and in his continuing lectures, he claims that the 3000 major operations and 10,000 minor operations in the agency history helped bring about some six million deaths world-wide, mainly in Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Africa and Central and South America.

The CIA has overthrown functioning constitutional democracies in over 20 countries. It has manipulated elections in dozens of countries. It has created standing

armies and directed them to fight. It has organised ethnic minorities and encouraged them to revolt in numerous volatile areas," he writes. And the purpose?

"Enemies are necessary for the wheels of the US military machine to turn. If the world were peaceful, we would never put up with this kind of ruinous expenditure on arms at the cost of our own lives," he argues. The CIA, by killing people who are not enemies of the US, creates people who are.

"This ensures that the world will continue to be a violent place, populated with Contras and Cuban exiles and the armies in Southeast Asia, justifying the endless, profitable production of arms to 'defend' ourselves in such a violent world."

It's a grim scenario, and one for which Stockwell has been accused of being a conspiracy theorist, but he dovetails his arguments with references to increasingly draconian encroachments of civil liberties in the US, a phoney assault on drugs at home and abroad, and his nation's new role as global rent-a-cop.

Americans even have a word for this new role, "Hessians"—named after the German mercenaries used by Britain in the American War of Independence, and until now a pejorative term. But, as a conservative commentator put it in the Chicago Tribune: "That's a terribly demeaning phrase for a proud, well-trained, well-financed and well-respected military."

Stockwell's analysis is shared by other dissidents opposing the prevailing mood of military triumphalism in the US. As Noam Chomsky put it in a recent issue of *Z Magazine*: "If the goal had been to secure Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, settle regional issues, and move towards a more decent world, then Washington would have followed the peaceful means prescribed by international law: sanctions and diplomacy. "If the goal is to firm up the mercenary-enforcer role and establish the rule of force, then the Administration policy of narrowing the options to capitulation or war has a certain chilling logic."

Fearful of his nation's economic decline and the undermining of its Bill of Rights—the Government quietly implemented measures in the Preemptive Strikes Bill in spite of Congressional rejection in 1984 — Stockwell's conclusion is a bleak one which should not be ignored in Britain, the junior partner of the US in the imposition of the new world order.

"President Bush may or may not be securing for himself a place in history, but he is surely serving global financial and security interests, not those of the US itself.

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Abandoning

I saw her
I saw her in the square
I saw her bleeding in the square
I saw her staggering in the square
I saw her being killed in the square
I saw her . . . I saw her . . .
And when he shouted
Who is her guardian?
I denied knowing her
I left her in the square
I left her bleeding in the square
I left her staggering in the square
I left her dying in the square
I left her. . .

From "Victims of a Map: A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry".

Trans. Abdullah al-Udhari. Published by Al Saqi Books.
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Travel Tickets

On the day you kill me
You'll find in my pocket
Travel tickets
To peace,
To the fields and the rain,
To people's conscience.
Don't waste the tickets.



By Samih al-Qasim.

Nobles Amusement Arcade

Thin stripped neon lights pin prick above,
The man on the coin pushers gives it a shove.
A bingo callers muffling voice,
Sneaks into my ears with a different choice,
From the sputtering guns gaining points on a screen,
Or the chunking payout of a fruit machine.
The cuddly toys that nobody wins,
Sit behind glass showing plasticky grins,
Safe from the lasers, the deep thought erasers,
That battle for attention amongst all the din.
Second hand music comes in on the side,
Adding its weight to the gathering tide,
Of dronings and blippings and death ray blats,
Of Machines played by people in seaside hats.

In a place called Nobles Amusement Arcade,
The Scootering youths are now on parade,
For ten minutes fun they chuck out their cash,
To the ironically named Noble,
The Mogul of Trash!

By Dominic

Issue Two Contents Include:

"Smear - Wilson and the Secret State"

An interview with "Lobster" magazine.

Are Our Wars Pre-planned?

Evidence from the Falklands and Iraq conflicts.

Eastern Mysticism meets Western Science

An introduction to developments in transpersonal psychology.

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Contact: Robin Ramsay, 214 Westbourne Avenue, Hull, HU5 3JB Tel. 0482 447558 or Stephen Dorrell 0484 681388.
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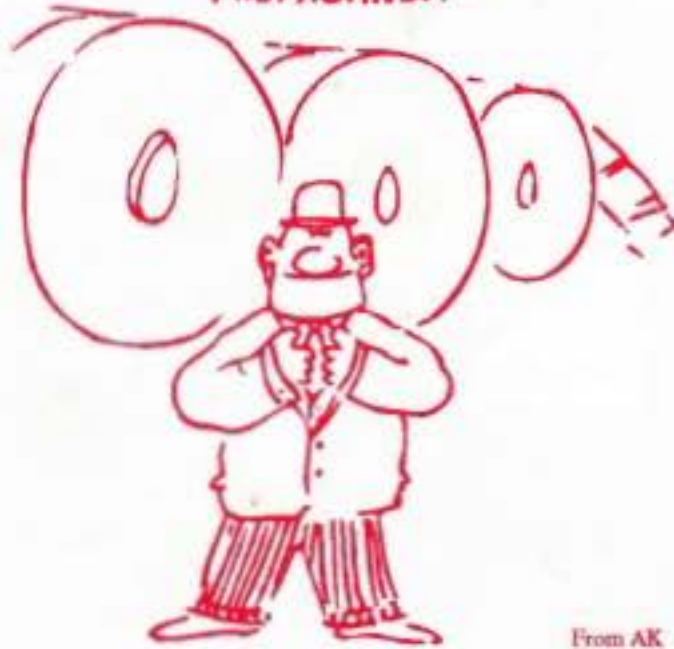
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End of a Discussion With a Jailer

From the window of my small cell
I can see trees smiling at me,
Roofs filled with my people,
Windows weeping and praying for me.
From the window of my small cell
I can see your large cell.

By Samih al-Qasim.

Trans. Abdullah al-Udhari (see p. 30)

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